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A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,
By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

Newly translated from the French,
By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

WITH A
NEW SET OF MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL,
IN THE STRAND.

MDCCCLXXXIII.



C O N T E N T S

OF THE

E I G H T H V O L U M E.

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B O O K XIX.

WE are advancing in a career, upon which we should not have entered without knowing the extent and the difficulties of it, and which we should several times have quitted, had we not been supported by motives, which always make us forget the disproportion between our powers and the experiment. In the event of a conflagration we sometimes attempt and accomplish things which would depress our courage were it not stimulated by the danger, and which astonish

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it when the danger is over. After a battle either won or lost, a military man said at the sight of a mountain which he had climbed up in order to reach the enemy: Who would ever have done that, if there had not been a musket shot to receive? I was certainly animated with the same sentiment when I began this work, and it must undoubtedly animate me still since I continue.

WE have first described the state of Europe before the discovery of the East and West Indies.

AFTER this we have pursued the uncertain, tyrannical, and sanguinary progress of the settlements formed in these distant regions.

IT now remains to unfold the influence which the intercourse established with the New World has had upon the opinions, government, industry, arts, manners, and happiness of the Old. Let us begin by religion.

Religion.

HAD man uninterruptedly enjoyed complete felicity; had the earth satisfied of itself all the variety of his wants, it may be presumed that much time would have elapsed before the sentiment of admiration and gratitude would have turned towards the Gods, the attention of that being naturally ungrateful. But a barren soil did not answer to his labours. The torrents ravaged the fields which he had cultivated. A burning sky destroyed his harvests. He experienced famine, he became acquainted with disease, and he endeavoured to find out the cause of his misery.

To explain the mystery of his existence, of his happiness, and of his misfortune, he invented different

different systems equally absurd. He peopled the universe with good and evil spirits; and such was the origin of Polytheism; the most antient and the most universal of all religions. From Polytheism arose Manicheism, the vestiges of which will last perpetually; whatever may be the progress of reason. Manicheism simplified, engendered deism, and in the midst of this diversity of opinions there arose a class of men mediators between Heaven and earth.

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THEN the regions of the earth were covered with altars; in one place the hymn of joy resounded, while in another were heard the complaints of pain; then recourse was had to prayer and to sacrifice, the two natural modes of obtaining favour and of deprecating anger. The harvest was offered up; the lamb, the goat, and the bull, were slain, and the holy sod was even stained with the blood of man.

IN the mean while the good man was often seen in adversity, while the wicked, and even the impious man prospered, and then the doctrine of immortality was suggested. The souls freed from the body, either circulated among the different beings of nature, or went into another world to receive the reward of their virtues or the punishment of their crimes. But it is a problematical circumstance, whether man became better on this account. It is certain, however, that from the instant of his birth to that of his death, he was tormented with the fear of invisible powers, and reduced to a much more wretched state than that which he had before enjoyed.

Most legislators have availed themselves of this propensity of the mind, to govern the people and still more to enslave them. Some have asserted, that they held from Heaven the right of commanding; and thus was theocracy or sacred despotism established, the most cruel and the most immoral of all legislations; that in which man, proud, malevolent, interested and vicious with impunity, commands man from God; that in which there is nothing just or unjust, but what is either agreeable or displeasing to him, or that supreme Being with whom he communicates, and whom he causes to speak according to his passions, in which it is a crime to examine his orders, and impiety to oppose them; in which contradictory revelations are substituted to reason and conscience, which are reduced to silence by prodigies or by enormous crimes; in which the nations, in a word, cannot have any ideas concerning the rights of man, respecting what is good and what is evil; because they search for the foundation of their privileges and of their duties, only in sacred writings the interpretation of which is denied to them.

IF this kind of government had a more sublime origin in Palestine, still it was not more exempt than any where else from the calamities which necessarily arise from it.

CHRISTIANITY succeeded the Jewish institution. The subjection that Rome, mistress of the world, was under to the most savage tyrants; the dreadful miseries, which the luxury of a court and the maintenance of armies had occasioned throughout

cut this vast empire under the reigns of the Neros; the successive irruptions of the barbarians, who dismembered this great body; the loss of provinces either by revolt or invasion; all these natural evils had already prepared the minds of men for a new religion, and the changes in politics must necessarily have induced an innovation in the form of worship. In paganism, which had existed for so many ages, there remained only the fables to which it owed its origin, the folly or the vices of its gods, the avarice of its priests, and the infamy and licentious conduct of the kings who supported them. Then the people, despairing to obtain relief from their tyrants upon earth, had recourse to Heaven for protection.

CHRISTIANITY appeared, and afforded them comfort, at the same time that it taught them to suffer with patience. While the tyranny and licentiousness of princes tended to the destruction of paganism as well as to that of the empire, the subjects, who had been oppressed and spoiled, and who had embraced the new doctrines, were completing its ruin by the examples they gave of those virtues, which always accompany the zeal of new-made proselytes. But a religion that arose in the midst of public calamity, must necessarily give its preachers a considerable influence over the unhappy persons who took refuge in it. Thus the power of the clergy commenced, as it were, with the gospel.

FROM the remains of pagan superstitions and philosophic sects, a code of rights and tenets was formed, which the simplicity of the primitive

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but which at the same time left the seeds of debates and controversies, from whence arose a variety of passions disguised under, and dignified with, the name of zeal. These dissensions produced schools, doctors, a tribunal, and a hierarchy. Christianity had begun to be preached by a set of fishermen, destitute of every knowledge but that of the gospel; it was entirely established by bishops who formed the church. After this it gained ground by degrees, till at length it attracted the notice of the emperors. Some of these tolerated christianity either from motives of contempt or humanity; others persecuted it. Persecution hastened it's progress, for which toleration had paved the way. Connivance and proscription, clemency and rigour, were all equally advantageous to it. The sense of freedom so natural to the human mind, induced many persons to embrace it in it's infancy, as it has made others reject it since it has been established. This spirit of independence, rather adapted to truth than to novelty, would necessarily have induced a multitude of persons of all ranks to become converts to christianity, if even the characters it bore had not been calculated to inspire veneration and respect.

PAGANISM, unmasked by philosophy, and brought into discredit by the fathers of the church, with a sufficient number of temples, but with priests who were not rich, sank from day to day, and gave way to the new form of worship. This penetrated into the hearts of the women by devotion,

devotion, which is so naturally allied to tenderness, and into the minds of children, who are fond of prodigies, and even of the most rigid morality. Thus it was introduced into courts, where every thing which can become a passion, is certain of finding access. A prince, who bathed in the blood of his family, had, as it were, fallen asleep in the arms of impunity; a prince, who had great crimes and great weaknesses to expiate, embraced Christianity, which forgave him every thing on account of his zeal, and to which he gave up every thing in order to be freed from his remorse.

CONSTANTINE, instead of uniting the priesthood to the crown, when he was converted to Christianity, as they had been united in the persons of the Pagan emperors, granted to the clergy such a share of wealth and authority, and afforded them so many means of future aggrandizement, that these blind concessions produced an ecclesiastical despotism entirely new.

PROFOUND ignorance was the most certain support of this ascendancy over the minds of men. The Pontiffs of Rome diffused this ignorance by opposing every kind of Pagan erudition. If from time to time some efforts were made to dispel this obscurity, they were extinguished by capital punishments.

WHILE the Popes were undeceiving the minds of men respecting their authority, even by the abuse they made of it, knowledge was passing on from the East to the West. As soon as the master-pieces of antiquity had revived the taste for

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useful study, reason recovered some of the rights which it had lost. The history of the church was investigated, and the false pretensions of the court of Rome were discovered. Part of Europe shook off the yoke. A monk set almost all Germany, and almost the whole North, free from it; a priest, some provinces of France; and a king, all England, for the sake of a woman. If other sovereigns firmly maintained the Catholic religion throughout their possessions, it was, perhaps, because it was more favourable to that blind and passive obedience which they require from their people, and which the popish clergy have always preached for their own interests.

IN the mean while, the desire, on one hand, of preserving the pontifical authority, and the wish of destroying it on the other, have produced two opposite systems. The Catholic divines have undertaken, and even successfully, to prove that the holy books are not of themselves the touchstone of orthodoxy. They have demonstrated, that since the first preaching of the gospel to our times, the scriptures, differently understood, had given rise to the most opposite, the most extravagant, and the most impious opinions; and that with this divine word, the most contradictory tenets may have been maintained, as long as inward sentiment hath been the only interpreter of the revelation.

THE writers of the reformed religion have shewn the absurdity of believing, that one man alone was constantly inspired from heaven, upon a throne,

a throne, or in a chair, in which the most monstrous vices have been committed; where dissolution was seated by the side of inspiration; where adultery and concubinage profaned the idols who were invested with the character and with the name of sanctity; where the spirit of falsehood and of artifice dictated the pretended oracles of truth. They have demonstrated, that the church, assembled in council, and composed of intriguing prelates, under the emperors of the primitive church, of ignorant and debauched ones, in the times of barbarism and of ambition, and of ostentatious ones in the ages of schism; that such a church could not be more enlightened by supernatural inspiration, than the vicar of Jesus himself; that the spirit of God did not more visibly communicate itself to two hundred fathers of the council, than to the holy father himself, who was often the most profligate of men; that Germans and Spaniards, without learning, French, without morals, and Italians, without any virtue, were not so well qualified for the spirit of revelation, as a simple flock of peasants, who sincerely seek after God by prayer and by labour. In a word, if they have not been able to support their new system in the eyes of reason, they have at least entirely destroyed that of the antient church.

IN the midst of these ruins, philosophy hath arisen, and said: If the text of the scripture be not sufficiently clear, precise, and authentic, to be the sole and infallible rule of doctrine and of worship: If the tradition of the church, from its
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first institution to the times of Luther and Calvin, hath been corrupted with the manners of priests, and of it's followers; if the councils have doubted, varied, and decided contradictorily in their assemblies; if it be unworthy of the Divinity to communicate it's spirit and it's word to one single man, debauched in his youth, reduced to imbecility in his old age; subject, in a word, to the passions, the errors, and the infirmities of man: then, say they, there is no firm and stable support for the infallibility of the Christian faith; consequently, that religion is not of divine institution, and God hath not intended that it should be eternal.

THIS dilemma is very embarrassing. As long as the sense of the scriptures shall remain open to the contests it hath ever experienced, and that tradition shall be as problematical as it hath appeared to be, from the immense labours of the clergy of different communions, Christianity can have no support but from the civil authority, and the power of the magistrate. The proper force of religion, which subdues the mind, and restrains the conscience by conviction, will be wanting to it.

ACCORDINGLY, these disputes have gradually led the nations, which had shaken off the yoke of an authority, considered 'till then as infallible, farther than it had been foreseen. They have almost generally rejected, from the antient mode of worship, what was contrary to their reason, and have only preserved a Christianity disengaged from all mysteries. Revelation itself hath been abandoned

abandoned in these regions, though at a later period, by some men more bold, or who thought themselves more enlightened than the multitude. A manner of thinking, so proud and independent, hath extended itself, in process of time, to those states which had remained subject to Rome. As in these countries knowledge had made less progress, and opinions had been more confined, licentiousness in them hath been carried to its utmost extent. Atheism, the system either of a discontented and gloomy spirit which sees nothing but confusion in nature, or of a wicked man who dreads future vengeance; or of a set of philosophers neither gloomy nor wicked, who vainly imagine they find in the properties of eternal matter, a sufficient cause for all the phenomena which excite our admiration.

By an impulse founded on the nature of religions themselves, Catholicism tends incessantly to Protestantism, Protestantism to Socinianism, Socinianism to Deism, and Deism to Scepticism. Incredulity is become too general, to allow us to hope, with any degree of foundation, that the antient tenets can regain the ascendant which they enjoyed during so many centuries. Let them be always freely followed, by such of their sectators who are attached to them from conscience, by all those who find matter of consolation in them, and by all whom they incite to perform the duties of a citizen: but, let all sects, the principles of which are not contrary to public order, find in general the same indulgence. It
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would be consistent with the dignity, as well as with the wisdom of all governments, to have the same moral code of religion, from which it should not be allowed to deviate, and to give the rest up to discussions, in which the tranquillity of the world was not concerned. This would be the surest way of extinguishing, insensibly, the fanaticism of the clergy, and the enthusiasm of the people.

It is partly to the discovery of the New World that we shall owe that religious toleration which ought to be, and certainly will be, introduced in the Old. Persecution would only hasten the downfall of the religions that are now established. Industry and the means of information have now prevailed among the nations, and gained an influence that must restore a certain equilibrium in the moral and civil order of society: the human mind is undeceived with regard to its former superstitions. If we do not avail ourselves of the present time to re-establish the empire of reason, it must necessarily be given up to new superstitions.

EVERY thing has concurred, for these two last centuries, to extinguish that furious zeal which ravaged the globe. The depredations of the Spaniards throughout America, have shewn the world to what excess fanaticism may be carried. In establishing their religion by fire and sword through exhausted and depopulated countries, they have rendered it odious in Europe; and their cruelties have contributed to separate a greater
number

number of Catholics from the church of Rome, than they have gained converts to Christianity among the Indians. The concourse of persons of all sects in North-America has necessarily diffused the spirit of toleration into distant countries, and put a stop to religious wars in our climates. The sending of missionaries has delivered us from those turbulent men, who might have inflamed our country, and who are gone to carry the firebrands and swords of the gospel beyond the seas. Navigation and long voyages have insensibly detached a great number of the people from the absurd ideas which superstition inspires. The variety of religious worships, and the difference of nations, has accustomed the most vulgar minds to a sort of indifference for the object that had the greatest influence over their imaginations. Trade carried on between persons of the most opposite sects, has lessened that religious hatred which was the cause of their divisions. It has been found that morality and integrity were not inconsistent with any opinions whatever, and that irregularity of manners and avarice were equally prevalent every where; and hence it has been concluded that the manners of men have been regulated by the difference of climate and of government, and by social and national interest.

SINCE an intercourse has been established between the two hemispheres of this world, our thoughts have been less engaged about that other world, which was the hope of the few, and the torment of the many. The diversity and multiplicity of objects industry hath presented to the

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mind and to the senses, have divided the attachments of men, and weakened the force of every sentiment. The characters of men have been softened, and the spirit of fanaticism, as well as that of chivalry, must necessarily have been extinguished, together with all those striking extravagancies which have prevailed among people who were indolent and averse from labour. The same causes that have produced this revolution in the manners, have yet had a more sudden influence on the nature of government.

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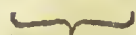
SOCIETY naturally results from population, and government is a part of the social state. From considering the few wants men have, in proportion to the resources nature affords them, the little assistance and happiness they find in a civilized state, in comparison of the pains and evils they are exposed to in it; their desire of independence and liberty, common to them with all other living beings; together with various other reasons deduced from the constitutions of human nature; from considering all these circumstances, it has been doubted whether the social state was so natural to mankind as it has generally been thought.

INSULATED men have generally been compared to separate springs. If in the state of nature, without legislation, without government, without chiefs, without magistrates, without tribunals, and without laws, one of these springs should clash with another, either the latter broke the former, or was broken by it, or they were both of them broken. But when, by collecting
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and arranging these springs, one of those enormous machines, called societies, had been formed, in which, being stretched one against the other, they act and re-act with all the violence of their particular energy, a real state of war was artificially created, and that of war diversified by an innumerable multitude of interests and opinions. The confusion was still infinitely greater, when two, three, four or five of these terrible machines came to shock each other at the same time. It was then, that in the space of a few hours, more springs were broken, and destroyed, than would have been in the course of twenty centuries, either before or without this sublime institution. Thus it is that the first founders of nations are satirized, under the supposition of an ideal and chimerical savage state. Men were never insulated in the manner here described. They bore within themselves a germen of sociability, which was incessantly tending to unfold itself. Had they been inclined to separate, they could not have done it; and supposing they could, they ought not; the defects of their association being compensated by greater advantages.

THE weakness and long continuance of the infant state of man; the nakedness of his body, which has no natural covering like that of other animals; the tendency of his mind to perfection, the necessary consequence of the length of his life; the fondness of a mother for her child, which is increased by cares and fatigues, who, after she has carried it in the womb for nine months,

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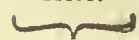
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months, suckles and bears it in her arms for whole years; the reciprocal attachment arising from this habitual connection between two beings who relieve and care for each other; the numerous signs of intercourse in an organization, which, beside the accents of the voice common to so many animals, adds also the language of the fingers, and of gestures peculiar to the human race; natural events, which in a hundred different ways may bring together, or re-unite wandering and free individuals; accidents and unforeseen wants, which oblige them to meet for the purposes of hunting, fishing, or even of defence; in a word, the example of so many creatures that live collected together in great numbers, such as amphibious animals and sea monsters, flights of cranes and other birds, even insects that are found in columns and swarms: all these facts and reasons seem to prove, that men are by nature formed for society, and that they are the sooner disposed to enter into it, because they cannot multiply greatly under the torrid zone, unless they be collected into wandering or sedentary tribes; nor can they diffuse themselves much under the other zones, without associating with their fellow-creatures, for the prey and the spoils which the necessities of food and clothing require.

From the necessity of association, arises that of establishing laws relative to the social state: that is to say, of forming, by a combination of all common and particular instincts, one general plan, that shall maintain the collective body, and
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the majority of individuals. For if nature direct man to his fellow-creature, it is undoubtedly by a consequence of that universal attraction, which tends to the preservation and reproduction of the species. All the propensities which man brings with him into society, and all the impressions he receives in it, ought to be subordinate to this first impulse. To live and to propagate being the destination of every living species, it should seem that society, if it be one of the first principles of man, should concur in assisting this double end of nature; and that instinct, which leads him to the social state, should necessarily direct all moral and political laws, so as that they should be more durable, and contribute more to the happiness of the majority of mankind. If, however, we consider merely the effect, we should think that the principal or supreme law of all society has been, *to support the ruling power*. Whence can arise this singular contrast between the end and the means; between the laws of nature and those of politics?

THIS is a question to which it is difficult to give a proper answer, without forming to one's self just notions of nature, and of the succession of the several governments; and history scarce affords us any assistance respecting this great object. All the foundations of the society at present are lost in the ruins of some catastrophe, some natural revolution. In all parts we see men driven away by subterraneous fires or by war, by inundations or by devouring insects, by want or famine; and joining again in some uninhabited

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corner of the world, or dispersing and spreading themselves over places already peopled. Police always arises from plunder, and order from anarchy; but in order to obtain some conclusion which shall be satisfactory to reason, these momentary shocks must not be attended to, and nations must be considered in a stationary and tranquil state, in which the singularities of government may appear without controul.

It hath been said that there are two worlds, the natural and the moral. The more extensive the mind shall become, and the more experience it shall acquire, the more shall we be convinced that there is but one, viz. the natural world, which leads every thing, when it is not opposed by fortuitous causes, without which we should constantly have observed the same concatenation in those moral events, which strike us with most astonishment, such as the origin of religious ideas, the progress of the human mind, the discovery of truths, the source and the succession of errors, the beginning and the end of prejudices, the formation of societies, and the periodical order of the several governments.

ALL civilized people have been savages; and all savages, left to their natural impulse, were destined to become civilized. A family was the first society, and the first government was the patriarchal, founded upon attachment, obedience, and respect. The family is extended and divided; opposite interests excite wars between brothers, who disavow each other. One people takes up arms against another. The vanquished become
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the slaves of the conquerors, who share among themselves their plains, their children, and their wives. The country is governed by a chief, by his lieutenants, and by his soldiers, who represent the free part of the nation, while all the rest is subjected to the atrociousness and to the humiliations of servitude. In this state of anarchy, blinded with jealousy and ferociousness, peace is soon disturbed. These restless men march against and exterminate each other. In process of time, there remains only a monarch, or a despot under the monarch. There is a shadow of justice; legislation makes some progress; ideas of property are unfolded; and the name of slave is changed into that of subject. Under the supreme will of a despot, nothing prevails but terror, meanness, flattery, stupidity, and superstition. This intolerable situation ceases, either by the assassination of the tyrant, or by the dissolution of the empire; and democracy is raised upon its ruins. It is then, for the first time, that the sacred name of one's country is heard. It is then that man, bent down to earth, raises his head, and appears in his dignity. Then the annals of the nation are filled with heroic deeds. Then there are fathers, mothers, children, friends, fellow-citizens, public and domestic virtues. Then the empire of the laws is established, soars to its extreme height, the sciences arise, and useful labours are no longer degraded.

UNFORTUNATELY, this state of happiness is only temporary. In all parts, revolutions in government succeed each other with a rapidity

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scarce to be followed. There are few countries who have not experienced them all; and there is not any one which, in process of time, will not fulfil this periodical motion. They will all, more or less frequently, follow a regular circle of misfortunes and prosperities, of liberty and slavery, of morals and corruption, of knowledge and ignorance, of splendour and weakness; they will all go through the several points of this fatal horizon. The law of nature, which requires that all societies should gravitate towards despotism and dissolution, that empires should arise, and be annihilated, will not be suspended for any one of them. While, like the needle which indicates the constant direction of the winds, they are either advancing or going back, let us see by what means Europe is arrived to that state of civilization in which it now exists.

WAVING any further account of the Jewish government, unless just to observe, that this singular nation hath maintained its character, under all the vicissitudes of its destiny; that the Jews, conquered, subdued, dispersed, hated, and despised, have still remained attached to their nation; that they have carried their annals, and their country with them, into all climates; that whatever region they inhabit, they live in expectation of a deliverer, and die with their looks fixed upon their ancient temple; let us pass on to the states of Greece.

THESE were founded by robbers, who destroyed a few monsters, and a great number of men, in order to become kings. It was there, that
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during a short space of time, at least if we date from heroic ages, and in a narrow circuit, we have a review of all the species of governments, of aristocracy, of democracy, of monarchy, of despotism, and of anarchy, which was only suspended, without being extinguished, by the approach of the common enemy. There it was, that the imminent danger of slavery gave birth and stability to patriotism, which leads in its train the origin of all great talents; sublime instance of all vices, and of all virtues; an infinite number of schools of wisdom, in the midst of debauchery; and some models in the fine arts, which in all ages art will always imitate, but will never equal. The Greeks were a frivolous, pleasant, lying, and ungrateful people; they were the only original people that have existed, or perhaps will ever exist upon the face of the earth.

ROME, it is said, was founded by people who escaped from the flames of Troy, or was only a retreat for some banditti from Greece and Italy: but from this scum of the human race arose a nation of heroes, the scourge of all nations, the devourers of themselves; a people more astonishing than admirable, great by their qualities, and worthy of execration by the use they made of them, in the times of the republic; the basest and most corrupt people under their emperors; a people, of whom one of the most virtuous men of his age used to say: If the kings be ferocious animals, who devour nations, what kind of beast must the Roman people be, who devour kings?

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WAR, which, from all the great nations of Europe together, had formed only the Roman empire, made these very Romans who were so numerous, become barbarians again. As the dispositions and manners of the conquering people are generally impressed upon the conquered, those who had been enlightened with the knowledge of Rome at the period when it was distinguished by it's learning, now sank again into the darkness of stupid and ferocious Scythians. During ages of ignorance, when superior strength always gave the law, and chance or hunger had compelled the people of the north to invade the southern countries, the continual ebb and flow of emigrations prevented laws from being settled in any place. As soon as a multitude of small nations had destroyed a large one, many chiefs or tyrants divided each vast monarchy into several fiefs. The people, who gained no advantage by the government of one, or of several men, were always oppressed and trampled upon from these dismemberings of the feudal anarchy. Petty wars were continually kept up between neighbouring towns, instead of those great wars that now prevail between nations.

IN the mean while, a continual ferment led the nations to establish themselves into some regular and consistent form of government. Kings were desirous of raising themselves upon the ruins of those individuals, or of those powerful bodies of men, by whom the commotions were kept up; and to effect this, they had recourse to the assist-

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ance of the people. They were civilized, polished, and more rational laws were given them.

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SLAVERY had oppressed their natural vigour, property restored it; and commerce, which prevailed after the discovery of the New World, increased all their powers, by exciting universal emulation.

THESE changes were attended with a revolution of another kind. The monarchs had not been capable of aggrandizing their power without diminishing that of the clergy, without favouring religious opinions, or endeavouring to bring them into discredit. Innovators, who ventured to attack the church, were supported by the throne. From that time, the human understanding was strengthened by exerting itself against the phantoms of imagination, and recovering the path of nature and of reason, discovered the true principles of government. Luther and Columbus appeared; the whole universe trembled, and all Europe was in commotion; but this storm left it's horizon clear for ages to come. The former awakened the understandings of men, the latter excited their activity. Since they have laid open all the avenues of industry and freedom, most of the European nations have attended with some success to the correction or improvement of legislation, upon which the felicity of mankind entirely depends. But this spirit of information hath not yet reached the Turks.

THE Turks were not know'n in Asia till the beginning of the thirteenth century, at which time the Tartars, of whom they were a tribe,

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made frequent excursions upon the territories of the eastern empire, as the Goths had formerly done in the western provinces. It was in 1300, that Ottoman was declared sultan by his nation, who living till then upon plunder, or selling their service to some Asiatic prince, had not yet thought of forming an independent empire. Ottoman became the chief among these barbarians, as a savage distinguished by his bravery, becomes a chief among his equals; for the Turks at that time were only a hord fixed in the neighbourhood of a people who were half civilized.

UNDER this prince, and his successors, the Ottoman power was daily making fresh progress; nothing resisted it. Princes brought up in the midst of camps and born captains, armies accustomed to victory by continual wars, and better disciplined than those of the Christians, repaired the defects of a bad government.

CONSTANTINOPLE, taken by Mohammed in 1453, became the capital of their empire, and the princes of Europe, plunged in ignorance and barbarism, could only have opposed an ineffectual dyke to this overflowing torrent: if the first successors of Mohammed, at the head of a nation which still preserved the manners, the genius, and the discipline of it's founders, had not been obliged to interrupt their expeditions in Poland, in Hungary, or upon the domains of the republic of Venice, in order to go sometimes into Asia, sometimes into Africa, either against rebellious subjects or turbulent neighbours. Their fortune began to fall off as soon as their forces were divided.

vided. Successes less rapid and less brilliant occasioned their armies to lose that confidence which was the soul of their exploits. The rest of the empire, crushed under the most rigorous despotism, had not attained to any degree of splendor. It had acquired no real strength from conquests, because it had not know'n how to take advantage of them by prudent regulations. Destroying in order to preserve, the conquerors had acquired nothing. They reigned only over provinces laid waste, and over the wrecks of the powers whom they had ruined.

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WHILE a deceitful prosperity was preparing the fall of the Ottoman empire, a contrary revolution was taking place in Christendom. The minds of men were beginning to be enlightened. Principles less extravagant were introducing themselves into Poland. Feudal government, the fertile source of so many calamities, and which had lasted for so long a time, gave way in several states to a more regular form of government. In other states it was gradually altered, either by laws or by new customs, with which some fortunate circumstances obliged it to comply. At length a power was formed in the neighbourhood of the Turks capable of resisting them. I mean the accession of Ferdinand to the throne of Hungary. This prince, master of the possessions of the House of Austria in Germany, was besides certain, from his Imperial crown, of powerful succours against the common enemy.

A MILITARY government tends to despotism, and reciprocally in every despotic government, the
military

military man disposes sooner or later of the sovereign authority. The prince, freed from all kind of law which might restrain his power, doth not fail of abusing it, and soon commands over none but slaves, who take no kind of concern about his fate. He who oppresses finds no defender, because he deserves none. His grandeur is without foundation. His own fears are awakened from the same motives by which he hath excited terror in others. The use he makes of the militia against his subjects, teaches this very militia what they can do against himself. They try their strength, they mutiny, and they revolt. The want of power in the prince makes them insolent. They acquire a spirit of sedition, and it is then that they decide of the fate of their master and of his ministers.

SOLIMAN, informed by the internal commotions which had agitated the empire under the reigns of Bajazet II. and Selim II. of the dangers which threatened himself and his successors, thought that he could adopt no better expedient than to enact a law which deprived the princes of his house, both of the command of the armies and of the government of the provinces. It was by burying in the obscure idleness of a seraglio those to whom their birth gave any pretensions to the empire, that he flattered himself he should remove from the Janissaries every pretence of sedition; but he was deceived. This bad policy served only to increase the mischief of an evil that was perhaps still greater. His successors corrupted by an effeminate education, bore without authority
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the sword which had founded and had extended the empire. Ignorant princes, who had frequented none but women, and conversed with none but eunuchs, were invested with an unlimited authority, the most unparalleled abuse of which completed the hatred and misery of their subjects, and plunged them in an absolute dependence on the Janissaries, become more avaricious and more untractable than ever. If sometimes, by chance, a sovereign was raised to the throne, who was worthy of occupying it, he was driven from it by ministers, enemies of a master who was able to restrain and examine their power, and penetrate into their conduct.

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THOUGH the Grand Seignior possesses vast domains, though the situation of his empire ought to interest him in the disputes of the Christian princes, he hath scarce any influence in the general system of Europe. This is the effect of the ignorance prevailing among the ministry of the Porte, of their prejudices, of the unvariableness of their principles, of the other vices which flow from despotism, and which will perpetuate their bad policy; for tyrants dread nothing so much as novelty. They imagine that all is right, and in fact, nothing advances more rapidly towards perfection than despotism. The best princes leave always a great deal of good to be done by their successors, while the first despot scarce ever leaves any evil for a second to do. Besides, how should a Grand Seignior, sunk in the voluptuousness of a seraglio, suspect that the administration of his dominions is detestable? How is it possible he should

should not admire the wonderful exactness of the springs, the prodigious harmony of the principles, and of the means which all concur to produce that single and super-excellent end, his most unlimited power, and the most profound servitude of his subjects. None of them are warned by the fate of so many of their predecessors, who have been either stabbed or strangled.

THE sultans have never changed their principles. The scimitar, at Constantinople, is still the interpreter of the Coran. Though the Grand Signior may not be seen coming in and going out of the Seraglio, like the tyrant of Morocco, with a bloody head in his hand, yet a numerous cohort of satellites is engaged to execute these horrid murders. The people sometimes massacred by their ruler, at other times assassinate the executioner in their turn; but satisfied with this temporary vengeance, they think not of providing for their future safety, or for the happiness of their posterity. Eastern nations will not be at the trouble of guarding the public safety by laws, which it is a laborious task to form, to settle, and to preserve. If their tyrants carry their oppressions or cruelties too far, the head of the vizir is demanded; that of the despot is stricken off, and thus public tranquillity is restored. This remonstrance, which should be the privilege of the whole nation, is only that of the Janissaries. Even the most powerful men in the kingdom have not the least idea of the right of nations. As personal safety in Turkey belongs only to people of a mean and abject condition, the chief families
pride

pride themselves in the very danger they are exposed to from the government. A Bahaw will tell you, that a man of his rank, is not destined, like an obscure person, to finish his days quietly in his bed. One may frequently see widows, whose husbands have been just strangled, exulting that they have been destroyed in a manner suitable to their rank.

It is to this pitch of extravagance that men are led, when tyranny is consecrated by religious ideas, which sooner or later it must be. When men cease to take pride in their chains in the eyes of the deity, they look upon them with contempt, and soon proceed to break them. If the apotheosis of the tyrants of Rome had not been a farce, Tiberius would not have been stifled, nor would the murders committed by Nero have been avenged. Oppression, authorised by Heaven inspires such a contempt for life, that it induces the slave to take pride even in his abject state. He is vain of being become in the eyes of his master a being of sufficient importance, that he should not disdain to put him to death. What difference is there between man and man? A Roman will kill himself for fear of owing his life to his equal; and the Mussulman will glory in the sentence of death pronounced against him by his master. Imagination, which can measure the distance of the earth from the firmament, cannot comprehend this. But what is still more surprising is, that the assassination of a despot, so profoundly revered, far from exciting horror, doth not make the least impression. The man

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who would have joyfully offered him his own head a few minutes before, beholds without emotion his master's stricken off by the scimitar. His indifference seems to say, that whether the tyrant be dead or alive, he cannot fail of the honour of being strangled under his successor.

THE Russians and the Danes do not entertain the same prejudices, though subject to a power equally arbitrary; because these two nations have the advantage of a more tolerable administration, and of some written laws. They can venture to think, or even to say, that their government is limited; but have never been able to persuade any enlightened man of the truth of their assertion. While the sovereign makes and annuls the laws, extends or restrains them, and permits or suspends the execution of them at pleasure; while his passions are the only rule of his conduct; while he is the only, the central being to whom every thing tends; while nothing is either just or unjust, but what he makes so; while his caprice is the law, and his favour the standard of public esteem; if this be not despotism, what other kind of government can it possibly be?

IN such a state of degradation, what are men? Enslaved as they are, they can scarce venture to look up to Heaven. They are insensible of their chains, as well as of the shame that attends them. The powers of their minds, extinguished in the bonds of slavery, have not sufficient energy to discover the rights inseparable from their existence. It may be a matter of doubt whether these slaves be not as culpable as their tyrants; and
whether

whether the spirit of liberty may not have greater reason to complain of the arrogance of those who invade her rights, than of the weakness of those who know not how to defend them.

It hath however been frequently asserted, that the most happy form of government would be that of a just and enlightened despotic prince. The absurdity of this is evident; for it might easily happen that the will of this absolute monarch might be in direct opposition to the will of his subjects. In that case, notwithstanding all his justice and all his abilities, he would deserve censure to deprive them of their rights, even though it were for their own benefit. No man whatsoever is entitled to treat his fellow-creatures like so many beasts. Beasts may be forced to exchange a bad pasture for a better; but to use such compulsion with men, would be an act of tyranny. If they should say, that they are very well where they are, or even if they should agree in allowing that their situation is a bad one, but that they chuse to stay in it; we may endeavour to enlighten them, to undeceive them, and to bring them to juster notions by the means of persuasion, but never by those of compulsion. The best of princes, who should even have done good against the general consent of his people, would be culpable, if it were only because he had gone beyond his right. He would be culpable not only for the time, but even with regard to posterity: for though he might be just and enlightened, yet his successor, without inheriting either his abilities or his virtues, will certainly inherit his authority,

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authority, of which the nation will become the victim. A first despot, just, steady, and enlightened, is a great calamity; a second despot, just, steady, and enlightened, would be a still greater one; but a third, who should succeed with all these great qualities, would be the most terrible scourge with which a nation could be afflicted. It is possible to emerge from a state of slavery into which we may have been plunged by violence, but never from that into which we have been led by time and justice. If the lethargy of the people be the forerunner of the loss of their liberty, what lethargy can be more mild, more profound, and more perfidious, than that which hath lasted during three reigns, and which hath been kept up by acts of kindness?

LET not therefore these pretended masters of the people be allowed even to do good against the general consent. Let it be considered, that the condition of those rulers is exactly the same as that of the cacique, who being asked, Whether he had any slaves? answered: *Slaves! I know but one slave in all my district, and that is myself.*

IT is of so much importance to prevent the establishment of arbitrary power, and the calamities which are the infallible consequences of it, that it is impossible for the despot himself to remedy these great evils. Should he have been upon the throne for half a century; should his administration have been entirely tranquil, should he have had the most extensive knowledge, and should his zeal for the happiness of the people not have been one moment slackened, still nothing
would

would be done. The enfranchisement, or, what is the same thing under another name, the civilization of an empire, is a long and difficult work. Before a nation hath been confirmed, by habit, in a durable attachment for this new order of things; a prince, either from inability, indolence, prejudice, or jealousy; from a predilection for antient customs, or from a spirit of tyranny, may annihilate all the good accomplished in the course of two or three reigns; or may suffer it to be ineffectual. All monuments therefore attest, that the civilization of states hath been more the effect of circumstances, than of the wisdom of sovereigns. All nations have changed from barbarism to a state of civilization; and from a civilized state to barbarism, till some unforeseen causes have brought them to that level which they never perfectly maintain.

WE may perhaps be allowed to doubt, whether all these causes concur with the efforts which are at present making towards the civilization of Russia.

Is the climate of this region very favourable to civilization, and to population, which is sometimes the cause and sometimes the effect of them? Doth not the coldness of the climate require the preservation of the large forests, and consequently, must not immense spaces remain uninhabited? As an excessive length of winter suspends the labours for the space of seven or eight months of the year, doth not the nation, during this time of lethargy, devote itself to gaming, to wine, to debauchery, and to an immoderate use

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of spirituous liquors? Can good manners be introduced notwithstanding the climate? and is it possible to civilize a barbarous people without manners?

Doth not the immense extent of the empire, which embraces all kinds of climates, from the coldest to the hottest, oppose a powerful obstacle to the legislator? Could one and the same code suit so many different regions? and is not the necessity of having several codes, the same thing as the impossibility of having only one? Can any means be conceived of subjecting to one same rule, people who do not understand each other; who speak seventeen or eighteen different languages, and who preserve, from times immemorial, customs and superstitions, to which they are more attached than to their existence?

As authority weakens, in proportion as the subjects are distant from the center of dominion, is it possible to be obeyed at a thousand miles distance from the spot from whence the commands are issued? Should any body tell me that the matter is possible by the influence of government, I shall only reply by the speech of one of these indiscreet delegates, who revealed what passed in the mind of all the others: *God is very high; the emperor is at a great distance; and I am master here.*

As the empire is divided into two classes of men, that of the masters, and that of the slaves, how can such opposite interests be conciliated? Tyrants will never freely consent to the extinction of servitude; and in order to bring them

to this, it would be necessary to ruin, or to ex-
 terminate them. But supposing this obstacle
 removed, how is it possible to raise from the
 degraded state of slavery, to the sentiment and to
 the dignity of liberty, people who are so entirely
 strangers to it, as to be either helpless or fero-
 cious, whenever they are released from their fet-
 ters? These difficulties will certainly suggest the
 idea of creating a third order in the state; but
 by what means is this to be accomplished; and
 supposing the means discovered, how many ages
 would it require to obtain any sensible effect from
 them?

IN expectation of the formation of this third
 class of men, which might, perhaps, be accele-
 rated by colonists invited from the free countries
 of Europe, it would be necessary that an entire
 security should be established, both with respect
 to persons and to property; and could such a
 security be established in a country where the
 tribunals are occupied by the lords alone; where
 these species of magistrates reciprocally favour
 each other; where there can be no prosecution
 against them, or against their creatures, from
 which either the natives or the foreigners can
 expect that the injuries they have received should
 be redressed, and where venality pronounces the
 sentence in every kind of contest? We shall ask,
 whether there can be any civilization without
 justice, and whether it be possible to establish jus-
 tice in such an empire?

THE towns are distributed over an immense
 territory. There are no roads, and those which

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might be constructed, would be soon spoiled by the climate. Accordingly, desolation is universal, when a damp winter puts a stop to every communication. Let us travel over all the countries of the earth, and wherever we shall find no facility of trading from a city to a town, and from a village to a hamlet, we may pronounce the people to be barbarians; and we shall only be deceived respecting the degree of barbarism. In this state of things, the greatest happiness that could happen to a country of an enormous extent, would be to be dismembered by some great revolution, and to be divided into several petty sovereignties, contiguous to each other, where the order introduced into some of them, would be diffused through the rest. If it be very difficult to govern properly a large civilized empire, must it not be more so to civilize a vast and barbarous empire?

TOLERATION, it is true, subsists at Peterf-bourg, and almost in an unlimited degree. Judaism alone is excluded, because it hath been thought that it's sectators were either too crafty, or too deceitful in trade, to expose to their snares, a people who had not experience enough to preserve themselves from them. This toleration in the capital, would be a great step towards civilization, if in the rest of the empire the people did not remain immersed in the most gross superstitions; and if these superstitions were not fomented by a numerous clergy, plunged in debauchery and ignorance, without being the less revered. How can a state be civilized without
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the interference of priests, who are necessarily prejudicial if not useful?

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THE high opinion that, according to the example of the Chinese, the Russians have of themselves, is another obstacle to reformation. They truly consider themselves as the most sensible people upon the earth, and are confirmed in this absurd vanity, by those among them who have visited the rest of Europe. These travellers bring back, or feign to bring back, into their country, the prejudice of their own superiority, and enrich it only with the vices, which they have acquired in the divers regions where chance hath conducted them. Accordingly, a foreign observer, who had gone over the greatest part of the empire, used to say, that *the Russian was rotten, before he had been ripe*.

WE might extend ourselves more upon the difficulties which nature and customs obstinately oppose to the civilization of Russia. Let us examine the means which have been contrived to succeed in it.

CATHERINE hath undoubtedly been very well convinced, that liberty was the only source of public happiness: and yet, hath she really abdicated despotic authority? In reading attentively her instructions to the deputies of the empire, apparently intrusted with the formation of the laws, is any thing more found in them than the desire of altering denominations, and of being called monarch, instead of autocratrix? Of calling her people subjects, instead of slaves? Will the Russians, blind as they are, take the name, in-

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stead of the thing, for any length of time? and will their character be elevated by this farce, to that great degree of energy with which it was proposed to inspire them?

A SOVEREIGN, however great his genius may be, seldom makes alterations of any consequence by himself, and still more unfrequently gives them any degree of stability. He stands in need of assistance, and Russia can offer no other than that of fighting. It's soldiers are hardy, sober, indefatigable. Slavery, which hath inspired them with a contempt of life, hath united with superstition, which hath inspired them with contempt of death. They are persuaded, that whatever crimes they may have committed, their soul will ascend to heaven from the field of battle. But military men, if they defend the provinces, do not civilize them. In vain do we seek for statesmen about the person of Catherine. What she hath done of herself may be astonishing; but who can be substituted to her, when she shall be no more.

THIS princess hath founded houses, in which young people of both sexes are brought up with the sentiment of liberty. This will undoubtedly produce a different race from the present. But are these establishments founded upon a solid basis? Are they sustained by themselves, or by the succours which are incessantly lavished upon them? If the present reign hath seen the origin of them, will not the succeeding reign see them annihilated? Are they very agreeable to the great, who perceive the destination of them? Will not the

the climate, which disposes of every thing, prevail at length over good principles? Will corruption spare those young people, who are lost in the immensity of the empire, and who are assailed on all sides by bad morals?

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THERE are a great number of academies of all kinds in the capital; and if these be filled by foreigners, will not these establishments be useless and ruinous, in a country where the learned are not understood, and where there is no employment for artists. In order that talents and knowledge might thrive, it would be necessary, that being offsprings of the soil, they should be the effect of a superabundant population. When will this population arrive to the proper degree of increase, in a country where the slave, to console himself for the wretchedness of his condition, may indeed produce as many children as he can, but will care very little about preserving them.

ALL those who are admitted and brought up in the hospital, recently established for foundlings, are for ever emancipated from slavery. Their descendants will not submit to the yoke again; and as in Spain there are old or new Christians, so in Russia there will be old and new freemen. But the effect of this innovation can only be proportioned to it's continuance: and can we reckon upon the duration of any establishment, in a country where the succession to the empire is not yet inviolably confirmed, and where the inconstancy, which is natural to an enslaved people, brings on frequent and sudden revolutions? If the authors of these conspiracies do not form a

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body, as in Turkey, if they be a set of insulated individuals, they are soon assembled together, by a secret ferment, and by a common hatred.

DURING the last war, a fund was created for the use of all the members of the empire, even of slaves. By this idea of sound and deep policy, the government acquired a capital, of which it stood in great need; and it sheltered, as much as possible, the vassals from the vexations of their tyrants. It is in the nature of things, that the confidence with which this paper money hath been received, should change, and be annulled. It doth not belong to a despot to obtain credit; and if some singular events have procured it to him, it is a necessary consequence, that succeeding events will make him lose it.

SUCH are the difficulties which have appeared to us to counteract the civilization of the Russian empire. If Catherine II. should succeed in surmounting them, we shall have made the most magnificent eulogium of her courage and her genius, and perhaps the best apology, if she should fail in this great design.

SWEDEN is situated between Russia and Denmark. Let us examine the history of it's constitution, and endeavour, if possible, to find out the nature of it.

NATIONS that are poor are almost necessarily warlike; because their very poverty, the burthen of which they constantly feel, inspires them sooner or later with a desire of freeing themselves from it; and this desire, in process of time, becomes
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the general spirit of the nation, and the spring of the government.

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It only requires a succession of sovereigns, fortunate in war, to change suddenly the government of such a country, from the state of a mild monarchy, to that of the most absolute despotism. The monarch, proud of his triumph, thinks he will be suffered to do whatever he chooses, begins to acknowledge no law but his will; and his soldiers, whom he hath led so often to victory, ready to serve him in all things, and against all men, become, by their attachment to the prince, the terror of their fellow-citizens. The people, on the other hand, dare not refuse the chains, when offered to them by him, who, to the authority of his rank, joins that which he holds from their admiration and gratitude.

THE yoke imposed by a monarch who has conquered the enemies of the state, is certainly burthenfome; but the subjects dare not shake it off. It even grows heavier under successors, who have not the same claim to the indulgence of the people. Whenever any considerable reverse of fortune takes place, the despot will be left to their mercy. Then the people, irritated by their long sufferings, seldom fail to avail themselves of the opportunity of recovering their rights. But as they have neither views nor plans, they quickly pass from slavery to anarchy. In the midst of this general confusion, one exclamation only is heard, and that is, Liberty. But, as they know not how to secure to themselves this inestimable benefit, the nation becomes immediately divided into
various

various factions, which are guided by different interests.

If there be one among these factions that despairs of prevailing over the others, that faction separates itself from the rest, unmindful of the general good; and being more anxious to prejudice it's rivals than to serve it's country, it sides with the sovereign. From that moment there are but two parties in the state, distinguished by two different names, which, whatever they be, never mean any thing more than royalists and anti-royalists. This is the period of great commotions and conspiracies.

THE neighbouring powers then act the same part they have ever acted at all times, and in all countries, upon similar occasions. They foment jealousies between the people and their prince; they suggest to the subjects every possible method of debasing, degrading, and annihilating the sovereignty; they corrupt even those who are nearest the throne; they occasion some form of administration to be adopted, prejudicial both to the whole body of the nation, which it impoverishes under pretence of exerting itself for their liberty; and injurious to the sovereign, whose prerogative it reduces to nothing.

THE monarch then meets with as many authorities opposed to his, as there are ranks in the state. His will is then nothing without their concurrence. Assemblies must then be holden, proposals made, and affairs of the least importance debated. Tutors are assigned to him, as to a pupil in his non-age; and those tutors are persons whom

whom he may always expect to find ill-intentioned towards him.

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BUT what is then the state of the nation? The neighbouring powers have now, by their influence, throw'n every thing into confusion; they have overturned the state, or seduced all the members of it by bribery or intrigues. There is now but one party in the kingdom, and that is the party which espouses the interest of the foreign powers. The members of the factions are all dissemblers. Attachment to the king is an hypocrisy, and aversion for monarchy another. They are two different masks to conceal ambition and avarice. The whole nation is now entirely composed of infamous and venal men.

IT is not difficult to conceive what must happen after this. The foreign powers that had corrupted the nation must be deceived in their expectations. They did not perceive that they carried matters too far; that, perhaps, they acted a part quite contrary to that which a deeper policy would have suggested; that they were destroying the power of the nation, while they meant only to restrain that of the sovereign, which might one day exert itself with all its force, and meet with no resistance capable of checking it; and that this unexpected effect might be brought about in an instant, and by one man.

THAT instant is come; that man hath appeared: and all these base creatures of adverse powers prostrated have themselves before him. He told these men, who thought themselves all-powerful, that they were nothing. He told them, I am your master;

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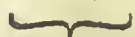
master; and they declared unanimously that he was. He told them, these are the conditions to which I would have you submit; and they answered, we agree to them. Scarce one dissenting voice was hear'd among them. It is impossible for any man to know what will be the consequence of this revolution. If the king will avail himself of these circumstances, Sweden will never have been governed by a more absolute monarch. If he be prudent; if he understand, that an unlimited sovereign can have no subjects, because he can have no persons under him possessed of property; and that authority can only be exerted over those who have some kind of property; the nation may, perhaps, recover it's original character. Whatever may be his designs or his inclinations, Sweden cannot possibly be more unhappy than she was before.

POLAND, which has none but slaves within, and therefore deserves to meet with none but oppressors without, still preserves, however, the shadow and the name of liberty. This kingdom is, at present, no better than all the European states were ten centuries ago, subject to a powerful aristocracy, which elects a king, in order to make him subservient to it's will. Each nobleman, by virtue of his feudal tenure, which he preserves with his sword, as his ancestors acquired it, holds a personal and hereditary authority over his vassals. The feudal government prevails there in all the force of it's primitive institution. It is an empire composed of as many states as there are lands. All the laws are settled there, and all resolutions

solutions taken, not by the majority, but by the unanimity of the suffrages. Upon false notions of right and perfection, it has been supposed that a law was only just when it was adopted by unanimous consent; because it has undoubtedly been thought, that what was right would both be perceived and put in practice by all; two things that are impossible in a national assembly. But can we even ascribe such pure intentions to a set of tyrants? For this constitution, which boasts the title of a republic, and profanes it, is only a league of petty tyrants against the people. In this country, every one has the power to restrain, and no one the power to act. Here the will of each individual may be in opposition to the general one; and here only a fool, a wicked man, and a madman, is sure to prevail over a whole nation.

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In this state of anarchy, there is a perpetual struggle between the great and the monarch. The former torment the chief of the state by their avidity, their ambition, and their mistrust; they irritate him against liberty, and compel him to have recourse to intrigue. The prince, on his part, divides in order to command, seduces in order to defend himself, and opposes artifice to artifice, in order to maintain himself. The factions are inflamed, discord throws every thing into confusion, and the provinces are delivered up to fire, to sword, and to devastation. If the confederacy should prevail, he who should have governed the nation is expelled from the throne, or reduced to the most ignominious dependence.



If it should be subdued, the sovereign reigns only over carcases. Whatever may happen, the fate of the multitude experiences no fortunate revolution. Such of these unhappy people who have escaped from famine and carnage, continue to bear the chains with which they were crushed.

If we go over these vast regions, what shall we see in them? The regal dignity, with the title of a republic; the pomp of the throne, with the inability of insuring obedience; the extravagant love of independence, with all the meanness of slavery; liberty, with cupidity; laws, with anarchy; the most excessive luxury, with the greatest indigence; a fertile soil, with fallow lands; a taste for all the arts, without any one of them. Such are the enormous contrasts Poland will exhibit.

It will be found exposed to every danger. The weakest of it's enemies may enter with impunity, and without precaution, upon it's territory, levy contributions, destroy the towns, ravage the country places, and massacre or carry off the inhabitants. Destitute of troops, of fortresses, of artillery, of ammunition, of money, of generals, and totally ignorant of military principles, what defence could it think of making? With a sufficient population, with sufficient genius and resources to appear of some consequence, Poland is become the opprobrium and the sport of nations.

If turbulent and enterprising neighbours had not yet invaded it's possessions; if they had been satisfied with laying it waste, with dictating to it, and with giving it kings; it is because they were continually

continually mistrustful of each other; but particular circumstances have united them. It was reserved for our days to see this state torn in pieces by three powerful rivals, who have appropriated to themselves those provinces that were most suitable to them, while no power of Europe hath exerted itself to prevent this invasion. It is in the midst of the security of peace, without rights, without pretensions, without grievances, and without a shadow of justice, that the revolution hath been accomplished by the terrible principle of force, which is, unfortunately, the best argument of kings. How great Poniatowski would have appeared, if, when he saw the preparatives for this division, he had presented himself in the midst of the diet, and there abdicating the marks of his dignity, had proudly said to his nobles assembled: "It is your choice that hath raised me to the throne. If you repent of it, I resign the royal dignity. The crown which you have placed upon my head, let it devolve to any one whom you shall think more worthy of it than me; name him; and I will withdraw. But if you persist in your former oaths, let us fight together to save our country, or let us perish along with it." I appeal to the dividing powers, whether so generous a step would not have saved Poland from ruin, and its prince from the disgrace of having been its last sovereign. But fate hath determined the matter otherwise. May this crime of ambition turn out to the advantage of mankind; and by prudently recurring to the sound principles of good policy,

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may the usurpers break the chains of the most laborious part of their new subjects ! These people, become less unhappy, will be more intelligent, more active, more affectionate, and more faithful.

IN a monarchy, the forces and wills of every individual are at the disposal of one single man ; in the government of Germany, each separate state constitutes a body. This is, perhaps, the nation that resembles most what it formerly was. The ancient Germans, divided into colonies by immense forests, had no occasion for a very refined legislation. But in proportion as their descendants have multiplied and come nearer each other, art has kept up in this country what nature had established, the separation of the people and their political union. The small states that compose this confederate republic, preserve the character of the first families. Each particular government is not always parental, or the rulers of the nations are not always mild and humane. But still reason and liberty, which unite the chiefs to each other, soften the severity of their dispositions, and the rigour of their authority : a prince in Germany cannot be a tyrant with the same security as in large monarchies.

THE Germans, who are rather warriors than a warlike people, because they are rather proficient in the art of war than addicted to it from inclination, have been conquered but once ; and it was Charlemagne who conquered, but could not reduce them to subjection. They obeyed the man, who, by talents superior to the age he lived in, had subdued

subdued and enlightened it's barbarism; but they shook off the yoke of his successors. They preserved, however, the title of emperor to their chief; but it was merely a name, since, in fact, the power resided almost entirely in the barons who possessed the lands. The people, who in all countries have unfortunately always been enslaved, spoiled, and kept in a state of misery and ignorance, each the effect of the other, reaped no advantage from the legislation. This subverted that social equality which does not tend to reduce all conditions and estates to the same degree, but to a more general diffusion of property; and upon it's ruins was formed the feudal government, the characteristic of which is anarchy. Every nobleman lived in a total independence, and each people under the most absolute tyranny. This was the unavoidable consequence of a government, where the crown was elective. In those states where it was hereditary, the people had, at least, a bulwark and a permanent refuge against oppression. The regal authority could not extend itself, without alleviating for some time the fate of the vassals by diminishing the power of the nobles.

BUT in Germany, where the nobles took advantage of each interregnum to invade and to restrain the rights of the Imperial power, the government could not but degenerate. Superior force decided every dispute between those who could appeal to the sword. Countries and people were only the causes or the objects of war between the proprietors. Crimes were the support of injustice. Rapine, murder, and conflagrations,

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not only became frequent, but even lawful. Superstition, which had consecrated tyranny, was compelled to restrain it. The church, which afforded an asylum to banditti of every kind, established a truce between them. The protection of saints was implored to escape the fury of the nobles. The ashes of the dead were only sufficient to awe the ferociousness of these people: so alarming are the terrors of the grave, even to men of cruel and savage dispositions.

WHEN the minds of men, kept in constant alarm, were disposed to tranquillity through fear; policy, which avails itself equally of reason and the passions, of ignorance and understanding, to rule over mankind, attempted to reform the government. On the one hand, several inhabitants in the countries were enfranchised: and on the other, exemptions were granted in favour of the cities. A number of men in all parts were made free. The emperors, who, to secure their election even among ignorant and ferocious princes, were obliged to discover some abilities and some virtues, prepared the way for the improvement of the legislation.

MAXIMILIAN improved the means of happiness which time and particular events had concurred to produce in his age. He put an end to the anarchy of the great. In France and Spain, they had been made subject to regal authority; in Germany, the emperors made them submit to the authority of the laws. For the sake of the public tranquillity, every prince is amenable to justice. It is true, that these laws established among princes, who may be considered

considered as lions, do not save the people, who may be compared to lambs: they are still at the mercy of their rulers, who are only bound one towards another. But as public tranquillity cannot be violated, nor war commenced, without the prince who is the cause of it being subject to the penalties of a tribunal that is always open, and supported by all the forces of the empire, the people are less exposed to those sudden irruptions, and unforeseen hostilities, which, threatening the property of the sovereigns, continually endangered the lives and safety of the subjects.

WHY should not Europe be one day entirely subject to the same form of government? Why should there not be the ban of Europe, as there is the ban of the empire? Why should not the princes composing such a tribunal, the authority of which should be consented to by all, and maintained unanimously against any one refractory member, realize the beautiful visionary system of the Abbé St. Pierre? Why should not the complaints of the subjects be carried to this tribunal, as well as the complaints of one sovereign against another? Then would wisdom reign upon the earth.

WHILE this perpetual peace, which hath been so long wished for, and which is still at such a distance, is expected, war, which formerly established right, is now subject to conditions that moderate it's fury. The claims of humanity are hear'd even in the midst of carnage. Thus Europe is indebted to Germany for the improvement of the legislation in all states; regularity and

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forms even in the revenge of nations; a certain equity even in the abuse of power; moderation in the midst of victory; a check to the ambition of all potentates; in a word, fresh obstacles to war, and fresh encouragements to peace.

THIS happy constitution of the German empire has improved with the progress of reason ever since the reign of Maximilian. Nevertheless the Germans themselves complain, that although they form a national body, distinguished by the same name, speaking the same language, living under the same chief, enjoying the same privileges, and connected by the same interests, yet their empire has not the advantage of that tranquillity, that power, and consideration, which it ought to have.

THE causes of this misfortune are obvious. The first is the obscurity of the laws. The writings upon the *jus publicum* of Germany are numberless; and there are but few Germans who are versed in the constitution of their country. All the members of the empire now send their representatives to the national assembly, whereas they formerly sat there themselves. The military turn, which is become universal, has precluded all application to business, suppressed every generous sentiment of patriotism, and all attachment to fellow-citizens. There is not one of the princes, who has not settled his court too magnificently for his income, and who does not authorize the most flagrant oppressions to support this ridiculous pomp. In short, nothing contributes to the decay of the empire so much, as the too extensive dominion of
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some of it's princes. The sovereigns become too powerful, separate their private interest from the general good. This reciprocal disunion among the states, is the reason that in dangers which are common to all, each province is left to itself. It is obliged to submit to that prince, whoever he may be, whose power is superior; and thus the Germanic constitution degenerates insensibly into slavery or tyranny.

GREAT BRITAIN was but little know'n before the Romans had carried their arms there. After these proud conquerors had forsaken it, as well as the other provinces distant from their dominion, in order to defend the center of their empire against the barbarians, it became the prey of the inhabitants of the Baltic Sea. The natives of the country were massacred, and upon their remains several sovereignties were founded, which were in time united into one. The principles by which the Anglo-Saxons were guided have never been handed down to us; but we know, that like all the northern nations, they had a king and a body of nobility.

WILLIAM subdued the southern part of the island, which even at that time was called England, and established a feudal government in it, but very different from that which was seen in the rest of Europe. In other parts, government was nothing but a labyrinth without an issue, a perpetual anarchy, and the right of the strongest. This terrible conqueror established it upon a more respectable, a more regular, and a more permanent footing, reserving to himself exclusively the

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right of hunting and of war, the power of levying taxes, the advantage of having a court of justice, where civil or criminal causes of all the orders of the state were ultimately adjudged by him and by the great officers of his crown, whom he appointed or dismissed at pleasure.

As long as the tyrant lived, the conquered people, and the foreigners whom he had employed to subdue them, submitted to this harsh yoke, as it were, almost unanimously, and without murmuring openly. Afterwards, both the one and the other being accustomed to a more moderate authority endeavoured to recover some of their primitive rights. Despotism was so firmly established as to render it impossible to subvert it, without the most complete unanimity. Accordingly, a league was formed, in which all the citizens without distinction, either of noblemen or of peasants, of inhabitants of towns or of the country, united their resentments and their interests. This universal confederacy softened a little the destiny of the nation under the reigns of the two first Henrys : but it was not till during that of John, that it truly recovered its liberty. Fortunately this turbulent, cruel, ignorant, and dissipating monarch, was compelled, by force of arms, to grant that famous charter which abolished the most oppressive of the feudal laws, and secured to the vassals, respecting their lords, the same rights as were confirmed to the lords in regard to kings ; which put all persons, and every species of property, under the protection
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of peers and of juries, and which even, in favour of the vassals, diminished the oppression of slavery.

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THIS arrangement suspended for a short time the jealousy subsisting between the barons and the princes, without extinguishing entirely the source of it. The wars began again, and the people availed themselves of the idea they had given of their strength and courage during these commotions, in order to gain admission into parliament under Edward I. Their deputies, it is true, had at first no more than the rights of representation in this assembly; but this success was the prelude to other advantages, and accordingly the commons soon determined the subsidies, and made part of the legislation; they even soon acquired the prerogative of impeaching and bringing to judgment those ministers who had abused the authority they were intrusted with.

THE nation had gradually reduced the power of the chiefs to what it ought to be when it became engaged in long and obstinate wars against France, and when the pretensions of the Houses of York and Lancaster made all England a scene of carnage and of desolation. During these dreadful commotions the din of arms alone was hear'd. The laws were silent, and they did not even recover the least part of their force when the storms were appeased. Tyranny was exerted with so many atrocious acts, that citizens of all ranks gave up every idea of general liberty, in order to attend only to their personal safety. This cruel despotism lasted more than a century. Elizabeth herself, whose administration might, in

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several respects, serve as a model, always conducted herself according to principles entirely arbitrary.

JAMES I. apparently recalled to the minds of the people those rights which they seemed to have forgotten; less wise than his predecessors, who had contented themselves with tacitly enjoying unlimited power, and as it were, under the veil of mystery, this prince, deceived by the name of monarchy, encouraged in his illusion by his courtiers and his clergy, openly avowed his pretensions with a degree of blind simplicity, of which there had been no example. The doctrine of passive obedience issued from the throne, and taught in the churches, diffused universal alarm.

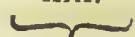
At this period, liberty, that idol of elevated minds, which renders them ferocious in a savage state, and haughty in a civilized one, liberty, which had reigned in the breasts of the English, at a time even when they were but imperfectly acquainted with its advantages, inflamed the minds of all men. In the reign of this first of the Stuarts, however, it was only a perpetual struggle between the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the citizens. Opposition appeared under another aspect in the reign of the obstinate successor of this weak despot. Arms became the sole arbiter of these great concerns, and the nation shewed, that in combating formerly for the choice of their tyrants, they had paved the way for destroying them, punishing, and expelling them at another time.

To put an end to the spirit of revenge and mistrust which would have been perpetuated between the king and the people as long as the Stuarts had occupied the throne, the English chose from a foreign race, a prince who was obliged to accept at last of that social compact of which all hereditary monarchs affect to be ignorant. William III. received the crown on certain conditions, and contented himself with an authority established upon the same basis as the rights of the people. Since a parliamentary claim is become the sole foundation of royalty, the conventions have not been infringed.

THE government is formed between absolute monarchy, which is tyranny; democracy, which tends to anarchy; and aristocracy, which fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the English, combining the advantages of these three powers, which mutually observe, moderate, assist, and check each other, tends from it's very principles to the national good. These several springs, by their action and reaction, form an equilibrium from which liberty arises. This constitution, of which there is no instance among the antients, and which ought to serve as a model to all people, whose geographical position will admit of it, will last for a long time, because at it's origin, which is usually the work of commotions, of manners, and of transient opinions, it became the work of reason and experience.

THE first fortunate singularity in the constitution of Great Britain, is to have a king. Most
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of the republican states know'n in history, had formerly annual chiefs. This continual change of magistrates, proved an inexhaustible source of intrigues and confusion, and kept up a continual commotion in the minds of men. By creating one very great citizen England hath prevented the rising up of many. By this stroke of wisdom those dissensions have been prevented, which in all popular associations have induced the ruin of liberty, and the real enjoyment of this first of blessings before it had been lost.

THE royal authority in England, is not only for life, but is also hereditary. At first sight, nothing appears more advantageous for a nation than the right of choosing it's masters. An inexhaustible source of talents and virtues seems to spring from this brilliant prerogative. This would indeed be the case, if the crown were necessarily to devolve to the citizen most worthy to wear it. But this is a chimerical idea, disproved by the experience of all people and of all ages. A throne hath always appeared to the eyes of ambition, of too great a value to be the appurtenance of merit alone. Those who aspire to it have always had recourse to intrigue, to corruption, and to force. Their competition hath excited at every vacancy a civil war, the greatest of political calamities, and the person who hath obtained the preference over his competitors, hath been nothing more during the course of his reign but the tyrant of the people, or the slave of those to whom he owed his elevation. The Britons are therefore to be commended for having averted

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ed from themselves these calamities, by putting the reins of government into the hands of a family that had merited and obtained their confidence.

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It was proper to secure to the chief of the state a revenue sufficient to support the dignity of his rank. Accordingly, at his accession to the throne, an annual subsidy is granted to him for his own life, fit for a great king, and worthy of an opulent nation. But this concession is not to be made till after a strict examination of the state of public affairs; after the abuses which might have introduced themselves in preceding reigns have been reformed, and after the constitution hath been brought back to it's true principles. By this management England hath obtained an advantage which all free governments had endeavoured to procure to themselves, that is to say, a periodical reformation.

To assign to the monarch that kind of authority best calculated for the good of the people was not so easy a matter. All histories attest, that wherever the executive power hath been divided, the minds of men have always been agitated with endless hatred and jealousies, and that a sanguinary contest hath always tended to the ruin of the laws and to the establishment of the strongest power. This consideration determined the English to confer on the king alone this species of power, which is nothing when it is divided; since there is then neither that harmony, nor that secrecy, nor that dispatch, which can alone impart energy to it.

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FROM this great prerogative necessarily follows the disposal of the forces of the republic. The abuses of them would have been difficult in times when the militia were but seldom assembled, and only for a few months, and when therefore they had no time to lose that attachment they owed to their country. But since all the princes of Europe have contracted the ruinous habit of maintaining, even in time of peace, a standing army of mercenary troops, and since the safety of Great Britain hath required that she should conform to this fatal custom; the danger is become greater, and it has been necessary to increase the precautions. The nation alone hath the power of assembling the troops; she never settles them for more than a year, and the taxes established for the payment of them have only the same duration. So that if this mode of defence, which circumstances have induced to think necessary, should threaten liberty, it would never be long before the troubles would be put an end to.

A STILL firmer support to the English liberty, is the division of the legislative power. Wherever the monarch can establish or abolish laws at pleasure there is no government; the prince is a despot, and the people are slaves. If the legislative power be divided, a well regulated constitution will scarce ever be corrupted, and that only for a short time. From the fear of being suspected of ignorance or corruption, neither of the parties would venture to make dangerous proposals, and if either of them should, it would disgrace itself to no purpose. In this arrangement of things,

things, the greatest inconvenience that can happen, is that a good law should be rejected, or that it should not be adopted so soon as the greatest possible good might require. The portion of the legislative power which the people have recovered, is insured to them by the exclusive regulation they have of the taxes. Every state hath both customary and contingent wants. Neither the one nor the other can be provided for any otherwise than by taxes, and in Great Britain the sovereign cannot exact one. He can only address himself to the Commons, who order what they think most suitable to the national interest, and who, after having regulated the taxes, have an account given to them of the use they have been put to.

It is not the multitude who exercise these inestimable prerogatives which their courage and their perseverance hath procured to them. This order of things, which may be proper for feeble associations, would necessarily have subverted every thing in a great state. Representatives, chosen by the people themselves, and whose destiny is connected with their's, reflect, speak, and act for them. As it was possible, however, that either from indolence, weakness, or corruption, these representatives might fail in the most august and the most important of duties, the remedy of this great evil hath been found in the right of election. As soon as the time of the commission expires the electors are assembled. They grant their confidence again to those who have shewn themselves worthy of it, and they reject with disdain

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tain those who have betrayed it. As a discernment of this kind is not above the abilities of common men, because it depends upon facts, which are usually very simple, those disorders are thus terminated which did not derive their source from the effects of government, but from the particular dispositions of those who directed it's operations.

NEVERTHELESS, there might result from this division of power between the king and the people a continual struggle, which, in process of time, might have brought on either a republic or slavery. To prevent this inconvenience, an intermediate body hath been established, which must be equally apprehensive of both these revolutions. This is the order of the nobility destined to lean to the side which might become the weakest, and thus ever to maintain the equilibrium. The constitution, indeed, hath not given them the same degree of authority as to the commons; but the splendour of hereditary dignity, the privileges of a seat in the House of Peers, belonging to themselves and without election, together with some other prerogatives of honour, have been contrived to substitute as much as possible to what they wanted in real strength.

BUT if, notwithstanding so many precautions, it should at length happen, that some ambitious and enterprising monarch, should wish to reign without his parliament, or to compel them to agree to his arbitrary decisions, the only resource remaining to the nation would be resistance.

It was upon a system of passive obedience, of divine right, and of power not to be dissolved, that the regal authority was formerly supported. These absurd and fatal prejudices had subdued all Europe, when in 1688, the English precipitated from the throne a superstitious, persecuting, and despotic prince. Then it was understood, that the people did not belong to their chiefs; then the necessity of an equitable government among mankind was incontestibly established; then were the foundations of societies settled; then the legitimate right of defence, the last resource of nations that are oppressed, was incontrovertibly fixed. At this memorable period, the doctrine of resistance, which had till then been only one act of violence opposed to other acts of violence, was avowed in England by the law itself.

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BUT how is it possible to render this great principle useful and efficient? Will a single citizen, left to his own strength, ever venture to strive against the power, always formidable, of those who govern? Will he not necessarily be crushed by their intrigues, or by their oppression? This would undoubtedly be the case, were it not for the indefinite liberty of the press. By this fortunate expedient, the actions of the depositaries of authority, become public. Any vexations or outrages that have been committed over the most obscure individual, are soon brought to light. His cause becomes the cause of all; and the oppressors are punished, or satisfaction is only offered for the injury, according to the nature of the offence, or the disposition of the people.

THIS description of the British constitution, made without art, must have convinced all persons of a proper way of thinking, that there hath never been a constitution so well regulated upon the face of the globe. We shall be confirmed in this opinion, when we consider that the most important affairs have always been publicly canvassed in the senate of the nation, without any real mischief having ever resulted from it. Other powers think they stand in need of the veil of mystery, to cover their operations. Secrecy appears to them essential to their preservation, or to their prosperity. They endeavour to conceal their situation, their projects, and their alliances, from their enemies, from their rivals, and even from their friends. The quality of being impenetrable, is the greatest praise they think they can bestow upon a statesman. In England, the internal, as well as external, proceedings of government, are all open, all exposed to the face of day. How noble and confident it is, in a nation, to admit the universe to it's deliberations! How honest, and advantageous it is, to admit all the citizens to them! Never hath Europe been told, in a more energetic manner: *We do not fear thee.* Never hath it been said, with more confidence and justice, to any nation: *Try us, and see whether we be not faithful depositaries of your interests, of your glory, and of your happiness.* The empire is constituted with sufficient strength, to resist the shocks which are inseparable from such a custom, and to give this advantage to neighbours who may not be favourably inclined.

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BUT is this government a perfect one? Certainly not; because there is not, neither can there be, any thing perfect in this world. In a matter so complicated, how is it possible to foresee, and to obviate every thing? Perhaps, in order that the chief of the nation should be as dependant upon the will of the people, as would be suitable to their security, liberty, and happiness, it would be necessary that this chief should have no property out of his kingdom. Otherwise, the good of one country happening to clash with that of the other, the interests of the precarious sovereignty will often be sacrificed to those of the hereditary sovereignty; otherwise, the enemies of the state will have two powerful means of molesting it; sometimes by intimidating the king of Great Britain, by threats addressed to the elector of Hanover; sometimes, by engaging the king in fatal wars, which they will prolong at pleasure; sometimes, by compelling the elector to put an end to these hostilities by a shameful peace. Will the nation meanly abandon the king, in quarrels that are foreign to them? and if they should interfere, will it not be at their expence, at the loss of their revenues, and of their population? Who knows whether the danger of the foreign sovereign, will not render him base, and even treacherous to the national sovereign? In this case, the British nation could do nothing better than to say to their sovereign: *Either resign your sovereignty or your electorate; abdicate the dominions you hold from*

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A CONSTITUTION, in which the legislative and executive power are separate, bears within itself, the seeds of perpetual contest. It is impossible that peace should reign between two opposite, political bodies. Prerogative must endeavour to extend itself, and press upon liberty, and *vice versa*.

WHATEVER admiration we may have for a government, if it can only preserve itself by the same means by which it had been established; if it's future history must exhibit the same scenes as the past, such as rebellion, civil wars, destruction of the people, the assassination or expulsion of kings, a state of perpetual alarms and commotions; who would wish for a government upon such conditions? If peace, both within and without, be the object of administration, what shall we think of an order of things that is incompatible with it?

WOULD it not be to be wished, that the number of representatives should be proportioned to the value of property, and to the exact ratio of patriotism? Is it not absurd that a poor hamlet, or a wretched village, should depute as many or more members to the assembly of the commons, as the most opulent city or district? What interest can these men take in the public felicity, which they scarce partake of? What facility will not bad ministers find in their indigence to bribe them; and to obtain, by money,
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that majority they stand in need of? O, shame! The rich man purchases the suffrages of his constituents, to obtain the honour of representing them; and the court buys the vote of the representative, in order to govern with more despotic sway. Would not a prudent nation endeavour to prevent both the one and the other of these corruptions? Is it not surprising that this hath not been done upon the day, when a representative had the impudence to make his constituents wait in his antichamber, and afterwards to say to them: *I know not what you want, but I will only act as I think proper; I have bought you very dear, and I am resolved to sell you as dear as I can*: Or even upon that day, when the minister boasted of having in his pocket-book the rates of every man's probity in England?

Is there nothing to object against the effort of these three powers, acting perpetually one upon the other, and tending incessantly to an equilibrium which they will never obtain? This struggle, is it not somewhat similar to a continual anarchy? Doth it not endanger commotions, in which, from one moment to another, the blood of the citizens may be spilt, without our being able to foresee, whether the advantage will remain on the side of tyranny or on that of liberty? And, if all circumstances be well weighed, would not a nation less independent and more quiet be happy?

THESE defects, and others added to them, will they not one day bring on the decline of the government? This is a circumstance we cannot

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decide ; but we are convinced it would be a great misfortune for the nations ; since they all owe to it a milder destiny than that which they before enjoyed. The example of a free, rich, magnanimous, and happy people, in the midst of Europe, hath engaged the attention of all men. The principles from which many benefits have been derived, have been adopted, discussed, and presented to the monarchs, and to their delegates ; who, to avoid being accused of tyranny, have been obliged to adopt them, with more or less modification. The antient maxims would soon be revived, if there did not exist, as it were, in the midst of us, a perpetual tribunal, which demonstrated the depravity and absurdity of them.

BUT, if the enjoyments of luxury should happen totally to pervert the morals of the nation ; if the love of pleasure should soften the courage of the commanders and officers of the fleets and armies ; if the intoxication of temporary successes ; if vain ideas of false greatness should excite the nation to enterprises above their strength ; if they should be deceived in the choice of their enemies, or their allies ; if they should lose their colonies, either by making them too extensive, or by laying restraints upon them ; if their love of patriotism be not exalted to the love of humanity ; they will, sooner or later, be enslaved, and return to that kind of insignificancy from whence they emerged only through torrents of blood, and through the calamities of two ages of fanaticism and war. They will become like
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other nations whom they despise, and Europe will not be able to shew the universe one nation in which she can venture to pride herself. Despotism, which always oppresses most heavily minds that are subdued and degraded, will alone rise superior, amidst the ruin of arts, of morals, of reason, and of liberty.

THE history of the united provinces is replete with very singular events. Their combination arose from despair, and almost all Europe encouraged their establishment. They had but just triumphed over the long and powerful efforts of the court of Spain to reduce them to subjection, when they were obliged to try their strength against the Britons, and disconcerted the schemes of France. They afterwards gave a king to England, and deprived Spain of the provinces she possessed in Italy and the Low Countries, to give them to Austria. Since that period, Holland has been disgusted of such a system of politics, as would engage her in war; she attends solely to the preservation of her constitution, but, perhaps, not with sufficient zeal, care, and integrity.

THE constitution of Holland, though previously modelled on a plan that was the result of reflection, is not less defective than those which have been formed by chance. One of it's principal defects is, that the sovereignty is too much divided.

IT is a mistake to suppose that the authority resides in the States General fixed at the Hague. The fact is, that the power of the members who

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compose this assembly, consists only in deciding upon matters of form, or police. In alliances, peace, war, new taxes, or any other important matter, each of the deputies must receive the orders of his province; which is itself obliged to obtain the consent of the cities. The consequence of this complicated order of things is, that the resolutions which would require the greatest secrecy and celerity, are necessarily tardy and public.

It seems, that in an union contracted between this number of states, independent of each other, and connected only by their common interest, each of them ought to have had an influence proportioned to it's extent, to it's population, and to it's riches: but this fortunate basis, which enlightened reason ought to have founded, is not adopted by the confederate body. The province which bears more than half of the public expences, hath no more votes than that which contributes only one hundredth part of them; and in that province, a petty town, uninhabited, and unknow'n, hath legally the same weight as this unparalleled city, the activity and industry of which are a subject of astonishment and of jealousy to all nations.

THE unanimity of the towns and provinces, which is required for all important resolutions, is not a measure of more judicious policy. If the most considerable members of the republic should resolve to act without the concurrence of the less important branches, this would be a manifest infringement of the principles of the union; and

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if they should lay a great stress upon obtaining their suffrages, they will not succeed without much solicitation or concessions. Which ever of these two expedients hath been adopted, when the parties have differed, the harmony of the United States hath usually been disturbed, and frequently in a violent and permanent manner.

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THE imperfections of such a constitution did not, in all probability, escape the Prince of Orange, the founder of this republic. If this great man permitted that they should serve as a basis to the government which was establishing, it was undoubtedly in hopes that they would render the election of a Stadtholder necessary, and that this supreme magistracy would always be chosen in his family. This view of a profound ambition hath not always been attended with success; and this singular magistracy, which, united to the absolute disposal of the land and sea forces, several other important prerogatives, hath been twice abolished.

AT these periods, which are remarkable in the history of a state, unparalleled in the annals of the Old and of the New World, great changes have been produced. The authors of the revolution have boldly divided all the authority among themselves. An intolerable tyranny hath been every where established, with more or less effrontery. Under pretence that the general assemblies were tumultuous, fatiguing, and dangerous, the people have no longer been called in to elect the depositaries of the public authority. The burgomasters have chosen their sheriffs, and

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have seized upon the finances, of which they gave no account, but to their equals or constituents. The senators have arrogated to themselves the right of completing their own body. Thus the magistracy hath been confined to a few families, who have assumed an almost exclusive right of deputation to the States General. Each province, and each town, have been at the disposal of a small number of citizens, who, dividing the rights and the spoils of the people, have had the art of eluding their complaints, or of preventing the effects of any extraordinary discontent. The government is become almost Aristocratic. Had the reformation been extended only to what was defective in the constitution, the House of Orange might have apprehended that they should no more be reinstated in that degree of splendour from which they had fallen. A less disinterested conduct hath occasioned the restoration of the Stadtholdership; and it hath been made hereditary, even in the female line.

BUT will this dignity become in time an instrument of oppression? Enlightened men do not think it possible. Rome, say they, is always quoted as an example to all our free states, that have no circumstance in common with it. If the dictator became the oppressor of that republic, it was in consequence of it's having oppressed all other nations; it was because it's power having been originally founded by war, must necessarily be destroyed by it; and because a nation, composed of soldiers, could not escape the despotism of a military government. However improbable
it

it may appear, it is yet certain, that the Roman republic submitted to the yoke, because it paid no taxes. The conquered people were the only tributaries to the treasury. The public revenues, therefore, necessarily remaining the same after the revolution as before, property did not appear to be attacked; and the citizen thought he should be still free enough, while he had the disposal of his own.

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HOLLAND, on the contrary, will maintain it's liberty, because it is subject to very considerable taxes. The Dutch cannot preserve their country without great expences. The sense of their independence alone excites an industry proportionable to the load of their contributions, and to the patience necessary to support the burthen of them. If to the enormous expences of the state it were necessary to add those which the pomp of a court requires; if the prince were to employ in maintaining the agents of tyranny what ought to be bestowed on the foundations of a land obtained, as it were, from the sea, he would soon drive the people to despair.

THE inhabitant of Holland, placed upon a mountain, and who observes at a distance the sea rising eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the lands, and dashing it's waves against the dikes he has raised, considers within himself, that sooner or later this boisterous element will get the better of him. He disdains so precarious a dwelling, and his house, made either of wood or stone at Amsterdam, is no longer looked upon as such; it is his ship that is his asylum, and by degrees he acquires

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acquires an indifference and manners conformable to this idea. The water is to him what the vicinity of volcanos is to other people.

If to these natural causes of the decay of a patriotic spirit were joined the loss of liberty, the Dutch would quit a country, that cannot be cultivated but by men who are free; and these people, so devoted to trade, would carry their spirit of commerce, together with their riches, to some other part of the globe. Their islands in Asia, their factories in Africa, their colonies in America, and all the ports in Europe, would afford them an asylum. What stadtholder, what prince, revered by such a people, would wish, or dare to become their tyrant?

A SENSELESS, ambitious man, or a ferocious warrior, might possibly attempt it. But among those who are destined to govern the nation, are such men rarely to be found. Every thing seems to conspire in exciting the greatest apprehensions in the republic upon this important point. There are scarce any natives on board their fleets, except a few officers. Their armies are composed of, recruited, and commanded by foreigners, devoted to a chief, who, according to their ideas, can never arm them against people to whom they are attached by no tie. The fortresses of the state are all governed by generals who acknowledge no other laws beside those of the prince. Courtiers degraded in their characters, overwhelmed with debts, destitute of virtue, and interested in the subversion of the established order, are perpetually raised to the
most

most important posts. It is by favour, that a set of commanders, devoid of shame and of ability, have been placed, and are maintained in the colonies; men who, either from motives of gratitude or of cupidity, are inclined to accomplish the slavery of those distant regions.

AGAINST so many dangers, of what avail can be the general lethargy, the thirst of riches, the taste for luxury, which begins to insinuate itself, the spirit of trade, and the perpetual condescensions shew'n for an hereditary authority? According to every probability, the United Provinces, without effusion of blood, and without commotion, must insensibly fall under the yoke of a monarchy. As the spirit of despotism, or the desire of meeting with no opposition to our wishes, is inherent in the mind of every man in a greater or less degree, some stadtholder may arise, and perhaps soon, who, regardless of the fatal consequences of his enterprize, will enslave the nation. It concerns the Dutch attentively to consider these observations.

THE Roman empire was shaking on all sides, when the Germans entered into Gaul, under the guidance of a chief whom they had chosen themselves, and to whom they were rather companions than subjects. This was not an army, the ambition of which was limited to the seizing of some fortified places; it was the irruption of a people in search of a settlement. As they attacked none but slaves, dissatisfied with their fate, or masters enervated by the luxuries of a long peace, they met with no very obstinate resistance. The conquerors

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querors appropriated to themselves the lands which suited them, and separated soon after, in order to enjoy their fortune in peace.

THE division was not the work of blind chance. The possessions were settled by the general assembly, and they were enjoyed under it's authority. They were granted at first for no more than one year ; but this period was gradually prolonged, and was at last extended to the life of the the possessor. Matters were carried still further, when the springs of government became entirely relaxed ; and under the feeble descendants of Charlemagne, hereditary possession was almost generally established. This usurpation was consecrated by a solemn convention, at the accession of Hugo Capet to the throne ; and at that period the feudal tenure, that most destructive of all rights, prevailed in all it's force.

FRANCE was then no more than an assemblage of petty sovereignties, situated near each other, but without having any connection. In this state of anarchy, the lords, entirely independent of the apparent chief of the nation, oppressed their subjects, or their slaves, at pleasure. If the monarch interested himself in the fate of these unhappy people, they declared war against him ; and if these people themselves sometimes ventured to appeal to the rights of mankind, the consequence was, that the chains with which they were crushed became still more oppressive.

IN the mean while, the extinction of some powerful houses, together with various treaties and conquests, were successively adding to the
royal

royal domain, territories of greater or less extent. BOOK
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This acquisition of several provinces gave to the crown a mass of power, which imparted to it some degree of energy. A perpetual contest between the kings and the nobles, an alternate superiority of the power of one single person, or of several; such was the kind of anarchy that lasted, almost without interruption, till about the middle of the fifteenth century.

THE character of the French was then changed by a train of events which had altered the form of government. The war which the English, in conjunction with, or under the direction of the Normans, had incessantly carried on against France for two or three hundred years past, spread a general alarm, and occasioned great ravages. The triumphs of the enemy, the tyranny of the great, all conspired to make the nation wish that the prince might be invested with power sufficient to expel foreigners out of the kingdom, and to keep the nobles in subjection. While princes distinguished by their wisdom and bravery were endeavouring to accomplish this great work, a new generation arose. Every individual, when the general alarm was past, thought himself happy enough in the privileges his ancestors had enjoyed. They neglected to trace the source of the power of kings, which was derived from the nation; and Lewis XI. having few obstacles to surmount, became more powerful than his predecessors.

BEFORE his time, the history of France presents us with an account of a variety of states, some-

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times divided, and sometimes united. Since that prince's reign, it is the history of a great monarchy. The power of several tyrants is centered in one person. The people are not more free; but the constitution is different. Peace is enjoyed with greater security within, and war carried on with more vigour without.

CIVIL wars, which tend to make a free people become slaves, and to restore liberty to a nation that is already enslaved, have had no other effect in France, than that of humbling the great, without exalting the people. The ministers, who will always be the creatures of the prince, while the general sense of the nation has no influence in affairs of government, have sold their fellow-citizens to their master; and as the people, who were possessed of nothing, could not be losers by this servitude, the kings have found it the more easy to carry their designs into execution, especially as they were always concealed under pretence of political advantage, and even of alleviating the burthen of the people. The jealousy excited by a great inequality of conditions and fortunes, hath favoured every scheme that tended to aggrandize the regal authority. The princes have had the art to engage the attention of the people, sometimes by wars abroad, sometimes by religious disputes at home; to suffer the minds of men to be divided by opinions, and their hearts by different interests; to excite and keep up jealousies between the several ranks of the state; to flatter alternately each party with an appearance of favour, and to satisfy the natural envy of the people

people by the depression of them all. The multitude, reduced to poverty, and become the objects of contempt, having seen all-powerful bodies brought low one after another, have at least loved in their monarch the enemy of their enemies.

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THE nation, though by inadvertency it has lost the privilege of governing itself, has not, however, submitted to all the outrages of despotism. This arises from the loss of it's liberty not having been the effect of a tumultuous and sudden revolution, but gradually brought about in a succession of several ages. The national character which hath always influenced the princes as well as the court, if it were only by means of the women, hath established a sort of balance of power: and thus it is that polite manners having tempered the exertion of force, and softened the opposition that might be made to it, have prevented those sudden and violent commotions, from whence results either monarchical tyranny, or popular liberty.

INCONSISTENCE, as natural to the minds of a gay and lively people as it is to children, hath fortunately prevailed over the systems of some despotic ministers. Kings have been too fond of pleasure, and too conversant with the real source of it, not to be induced frequently to lay aside the iron sceptre, which would have terrified the people, and prevented them from indulging in those frivolous amusements to which they were addicted. The spirit of intrigue, which hath ever prevailed among them, since the nobles have been
invited

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invited to court, hath occasioned continual removals of statesmen, and consequently subverted all their projects. As the change in government has been imperceptibly brought about, the subjects have preserved a kind of dignity, which the monarch himself seemed to respect, considering it as the source, or consequence of his own. He has continued the supreme legislator for a long time, without being either willing or able to abuse his whole power. Kept in awe by the bare idea only of the fundamental laws of the nation he governed, he has frequently been afraid to act contrary to the principles of them. He has been sensible that the people had right to oppose to him. In a word, there has been no tyrant, even at a time when there was no liberty.

SUCH, and still more arbitrary, have been the governments of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Piedmont, and of the several small principalities of Italy. The people of the south, whether from inactivity of mind, or weakness of body, seem to be born for despotism. The Spaniards, though they are extremely proud; and the Italians, notwithstanding all the powers of genius they possess, have lost all their rights, and every idea of liberty. Wherever the monarchy is unlimited, it is impossible to ascertain, with any degree of precision, what the form of government is, since that varies, not only with the character of each sovereign, but even at every period of the same prince's life. These states have written laws, and customs and societies that enjoy certain privileges; but when the legislator can subvert the laws

laws and tribunals of justice ; when his authority is founded only on superior strength, and when he calls upon God with a view to inspire his subjects with fear, instead of imitating him in order to become an object of affection ; when the original right of society, the unalienable right of property among citizens, when national conventions, and the engagements of the prince, are in vain appealed to ; in a word, when the government is arbitrary, there is no longer any state ; the nation is no more than the landed property of one single individual.

IN such countries, no statesmen will ever be formed. Far from it's being a duty to be acquainted with public affairs, it is rather criminal and dangerous to have any knowledge of the administration. The favour of the court, the choice of the prince, supply the place of talents. Talents, it is true, have their use ; and are sometimes of use to serve the designs of others, but never to command. In these countries, the people submit to the government their superiors impose, provided only they are indulged in their natural indolence. There is only one system of legislation in these delightful regions of Europe, that merits our attention ; which is the republic of Venice. Three great phænomena make this state remarkable ; these are, it's first foundation, it's power at the time of the crusades, and it's present form of administration.

A GREAT, magnificent, and rich city, impregnable, though without walls or fortifications, rules over seventy-two islands. They are not rocks and

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mountains raised by time in the midst of a vast sea; but rather a plain, parcelled out and cut into channels by the stagnations of a small gulph, upon the slope of a low land. These islands, separated by canals, are at present joined by bridges. They have been formed by the ravages of the sea, and the ravages of war have occasioned them to be peopled towards the middle of the fifth century. The inhabitants of Italy flying from Attila, sought an asylum on the sea.

THE Venetian Lagunes at first neither made a part of the same city, nor of the same republic. United by one general commercial interest, or rather by the necessity of defending themselves, they were, however, divided into as many separate governments as islands, each subject to it's respective tribune.

FROM the plurality of chiefs, contentions arose, and the public good was consequently sacrificed. These people, therefore, in order to constitute one body, chose a prince, who, under the title of duke or Doge, enjoyed for a considerable time all the rights of sovereignty, of which he only now retains the signs. These Doges were elected by the people till 1173: at that period the nobles arrogated to themselves the exclusive privilege of appointing the chief of the republic; they seized upon the authority, and formed an aristocracy.

THOSE political writers who have given the preference to this kind of government, have said, with some shew of reason, that all societies, in whatever way they may have been formed, have been governed in this manner. If in democratic

states the people were to settle their administration themselves, they would necessarily fall into extravagances; and they are therefore obliged, for their own preservation, to submit to a senate, more or less numerous. If in monarchies, kings pretended to see every thing with their own eyes, and to do every thing themselves, nothing would either be seen or done; and it hath therefore been necessary to have recourse to councils, to preserve empires from a stagnation, more fatal, perhaps, than a state of action ill conducted. Every thing, therefore, may be traced to the authority of many, and of a small number; every thing is conducted according to the principles of aristocracy.

BUT, in the monarchical form of government, command is not settled in one class of citizens, and obedience in the rest; the road to honours and to employments is open to every one who hath the necessary talents to obtain them; the nobles are not every thing, and the people nothing. Substitute aristocracy to this form of government, and we shall find nothing but slavery and despotism.

VENICE, in it's origin, tempered as much as possible the defects of this odious and unjust government. The several branches of power were distributed and balanced with remarkable accuracy. Prudent and severe laws were enacted, to suppress and strike awe into the ambition of the nobles. The great reigned without disturbance, and with a kind of equality, as the stars shine in the firmament amidst the silence of the night. They were obliged outwardly to conform to the

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customs of the several orders of the republic, in order that the distinction between patricians and plebeians might become less odious. The hope even of sharing, in process of time, the rights of sovereignty, was extended to those who from rank were excluded from it, if by their services, and their industry, they should one day acquire consideration and riches.

THIS was the only regular form of government then existing in Europe. Such an advantage raised the Venetians to great opulence; enabled them to keep armies in their pay; and imparted to them that knowledge which made them a political people, before any of the rest were. They reigned over the seas; they had a manifest preponderance in the continent; they formed or dissipated leagues, according as it suited their interest.

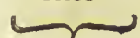
WHEN the commerce of the republic was ruined, by the discovery of the New World, and of the passage to India, through the Cape of Good Hope, it was deprived of every advantage which had given it grandeur, strength, and courage. To those illusions, which in some measure console the subjects for the loss of their liberty, were substituted the seduction of voluptuousness, pleasures, and effeminacy. The great grew corrupt as well as the people, the women as well as the men, the priests as well as the laymen, and licentiousness knew no bounds. Venice became the country upon the earth where there were fewer factitious vices and virtues.

IN proportion as the minds, the dispositions, and the power of man became enervated within, it was a necessary consequence that less vigour, and less exertion should shew itself without. Accordingly the republic fell into the most pusillanimous, circumspection. They assumed and added still more to the national character of Italy, which is jealousy and mistrust. With one half of the treasures and care which it hath cost them to maintain that neutrality they have observed for two centuries past, they would perhaps have freed themselves for ever from the dangers to which their very precautions have exposed them.

THE republic doth not appear to be in a state of tranquillity, notwithstanding all the cares that have been taken for it's security. It's anxiety is manifested by the principles of it's government, which become constantly more severe by the extreme horror of every thing that is in the least elevated, by the aversion which it shews for reason, the use of which it considers as a crime, by the mysterious and dark veils with which it conceals it's operations, by the precaution which it constantly takes to place foreign commanders at the head of it's feeble troops, and to appoint inspectors over them; by the forbidding, indiscriminately, all those who are it's subjects, to go and inure themselves to war in the field of battle; by it's informers; by all the refinements of insidious policy, and by various other means which discover continual apprehensions and alarms. It seems to place it's chief confidence in an inquisitor, who is continually prying about

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amongst individuals, with the ax raised over the head of any one who shall venture to disturb public order by his actions, or by his discourses.

EVERY thing, however, is not censurable in Venice. The impost which supplies the treasury with 25,000,000 of livres*, hath neither increased nor diminished since the year 1707. Every method is taken to conceal from the citizens the idea of their slavery, and to make them easy and cheerful. The form of worship is replete with ceremonies. There are no great festivals without public spectacles and music. One may say and do what one chooses at Venice, if one does not speak in public either of politics or of religion. A Christian orator preaching before the chiefs of the republic, imagined that he ought to begin his discourse with an eulogium of the government; immediately a satellite was dispatched to take him out of his pulpit; and being the next day summoned to appear before the tribunal of the state inquisitors, he was told: *What need have we of your encomiums? Be more cautious.* They were well aware, that an administration is soon censured in every place where it is allowed to be extolled. The state inquisitors do not retain their functions longer than eighteen months. They are chosen from among the most moderate persons, and the least act of injustice is followed by their deposition. They address all men in the familiar mode of the second person, and would even adopt it in speaking to the

* 1,041,666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

doge. Any person who is summoned before them is obliged to appear without delay. A secretary of state was not excused by alleging the necessity of finishing his dispatches. It is true, that the doors are shut while causes are trying; but these causes of alarm to foreigners, are the real protection of the people, and the counterpoize to the tyranny of the aristocratic body. About six years ago it was deliberated in council, whether this formidable tribunal should not be abolished, and immediately the most wealthy citizens were preparing to withdraw themselves, and a neighbouring king foretold, that Venice would not exist ten years longer after the suppression of this magistracy. Accordingly, were it not for the terror with which it inspires the citizens, they would be incessantly exposed to vexations from a number of patricians who languish in indigence. After some violent contests, the inquisition was confirmed by a majority of votes, and the four persons who had moved the debate were punished only by assigning to them honourable employments, which kept them at a distance from the republic.

DURING the carnival, monks and priests go to the public diversions in masks. It is well known, that a degraded ecclesiastic can have no influence. A patrician, who is become either monk or priest, is no more than a common citizen. The horror of executions is kept up by the unfrequency of them. The people are persuaded that the devils are flying about the gibbet to seize upon the souls of the persons executed. A capuchin friar

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once thought of saying, that *of a hundred drowned persons no one would be saved, and that of a hundred persons executed on the gallows not one would be damned*. As it was of consequence to the Venetians that one should not fear being drowned, but that one should fear being hanged, the preacher had orders to teach the contrary, notwithstanding the authority of St. Austin.

IF the naval forces of the Venetians are commanded by a patrician alone, it is only since the celebrated Morosini, admiral of their fleet at the expedition of the Peloponnesus, told them, that it had been in his power to starve them. If the land forces can only be commanded by a foreign general, it is from the just apprehension, that a citizen, might take advantage of the affection of the soldiers to become the tyrant of his country.

THERE are a multitude of magistrates placed at the head of different affairs, which must accelerate the dispatch of them. The doge may solicit and obtain favours, but he cannot grant any. There are preservers of the laws, to whom the new regulations proposed by the senate to the council are referred. They examine them and make their reports to the council, who decide accordingly. The council therefore represents the republic, the senate the legislative body subordinate to the council, and the state inquisitor is a kind of tribune to protect the people.

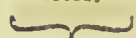
AN inquisitor is not, in my opinion, a very tremendous person, since it is possible to punish him when he becomes insolent. There is no such thing to be found in France as a sheriff's officer, who would venture to deliver a summons to a
magistrate

magistrate of a superior order. At Venice a legal proceeding may be carried on against either a patrician or an inquisitor. Their goods may be sold, their persons seized, and they may be throw'n into prison.

THE Venetian ministry have obscure agents in all the courts, by whom they are informed of the character of the men in favour, and the means of seducing them; they support themselves by their cunning. There is another republic which derives it's strength, and supports itself by it's form and it's courage, and that is Switzerland.

THE Switzers, know'n in antiquity by the name of Helvetians, were, as the Gauls and the Britons, only to be subdued by Cæsar, who was the greatest of the Romans, if he had been more attached to his country. They were united to Germany, as a Roman province, under the reign of Honorius. Revolutions, which are frequent and easily accomplished in such a country as the Alps, divided colonies, that were separated by large lakes or great mountains, into several baronies. The most considerable of these, occupied by the House of Austria, in process of time seized upon all the rest. Conquest introduced slavery, oppression excited the people to revolt, and thus liberty arose from an unbounded exertion of tyranny.

THERE are now thirteen cantons of robust peasants, who defend almost all the kings of Europe, and fear none; who are better acquainted with their real interests than any other nation; and who constitute the most sensible people in all modern

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dern political states. These thirteen cantons compose among themselves, not a republic as the seven provinces of Holland, nor a simple confederacy as the Germanic body, but rather a league, a natural association of so many independent republics. Each canton has it's respective sovereignty, it's alliances, and it's treaties separate. The general diet cannot make laws or regulations for either of them.

THE three most ancient cantons are immediately connected with each of the others. It is from this union of convenience, not of constitution, that, if one of the thirteen cantons were attacked, all the rest would march to it's assistance. But there is no common alliance between the whole body and each particular canton. Thus the branches of a tree are united among themselves, without having an immediate connection with the common trunk.

THE union of the Switzers was, however, indissoluble till the beginning of the 16th century; when religion, which ought to be the bond of peace and charity, disunited them. The reformation caused a separation of the Helvetic body, and the state was divided by the church. All public affairs are transacted in the separate and particular diets of the catholic and protestant parties. The general diets are assembled only to preserve the appearance of union. Notwithstanding this source of discord, Switzerland has enjoyed peace much more than any state in Europe.

UNDER the Austrian government, oppression and the raising of troops impeded population. After the revolution, there was too great an increase of the number of people in proportion to the barrenness of the land. The Helvetic body could not be enlarged without endangering its safety, unless it made some excursions abroad. The inhabitants of these mountains, as the torrents that pour down from them, were to spread themselves in the plains that border upon the Alps. These people would have destroyed each other, had they remained sequestered among themselves. But ignorance of the arts, the want of materials for manufactures, and the deficiency of money, prevented the importation of foreign merchandize, and excluded them from the means of procuring the comforts of life, and of encouraging industry. They drew even from their increase of numbers, a method of subsisting and acquiring riches, a source, and an object of trade.

THE duke of Milan, master of a rich country open on every side to invasion, and not easily defended, was in want of soldiers. The Switzers, who were his most powerful neighbours, must necessarily become his enemies, if they were not his allies, or rather his protectors. A kind of traffic was therefore set on foot between these people and the Milanese, in which men were bartered for riches. The nation engaged troops successively in the service of France, of the emperor, of the pope, of the duke of Savoy, and all the potentates of Italy. They sold their blood to the most distant

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with each other; to Holland, to Spain, and to Portugal; as if these mountains were nothing more than a repository of arms and soldiers, open to every one who wanted to purchase the means of carrying on war.

EACH canton treats with that power which offers the most advantageous terms. The subjects of the country are at liberty to engage in war at a distance, with an allied nation. The Hollander is, by the constitution of his country, a citizen of the world; the Switzer, by the same circumstance, a destroyer of Europe. The profits of Holland are in proportion to the degree of cultivation, and the consumption of merchandize; the prosperity of Switzerland increases in proportion to the number of battles that are fought, and the slaughter that attends them.

IT is by war, that calamity inseparable from mankind, whether in a state of civilization or not, that the republics of the Helvetic body are obliged to live and subsist. It is by this that they preserve a number of inhabitants within their country proportioned to the extent and fertility of their lands, without forcing any of the springs of government, or restraining the inclinations of any individual. It is by the traffic of troops with the powers at war with each other, that Switzerland has not been under the necessity of making sudden emigrations, which are the cause of invasions, and of attempting conquests, which would have occasioned the loss of it's liberty, as it caused the subversion of all the republics of Greece.

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As far as human foresight can penetrate into futurity, the state of these people must be more permanent than that of all other nations, if differences in their form of worship do not become fatal to them. From the top of their barren mountains, they behold, groaning under the oppression of tyranny, whole nations which nature hath placed in more plentiful countries, while they enjoy in peace the fruits of their labour, of their frugality, of their moderation, and of all the virtues that attend upon liberty. If it were possible that habit could blunt their sensibility for so mild a destiny, it would be incessantly revived in them by that multitude of travellers who resort there to enjoy the sight of that felicity which is not to be seen elsewhere. Undoubtedly, the love of riches hath somewhat altered that amiable simplicity of manners, in such of the cantons where the arts and commerce have made any considerable progress; but the features of their primitive character are not entirely effaced, and they still retain a kind of happiness unknow'n to other men. Can it be apprehended that a nation may grow tired of such an existence?

THE weight of taxes cannot alter the advantages of this destiny. These scourges of the human race are unknow'n in most of the cantons, and in the rest they amount to little or nothing. In some places only, a dangerous abuse hath been introduced. Administrators, know'n under the title of bailiffs, take upon themselves to impose in their ow'n jurisdiction arbitrary fines, which they make use of for their own private benefit.

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This extravagance of the feudal laws cannot last, and every vestige will soon be lost of so odious a custom, which in process of time would affect the public felicity.

THE nation will never be disturbed by its propensities, which naturally lead it to order, tranquillity, and harmony. If any turbulent or dangerous characters are to be found there, who may be fond of factions and tumults, they mix in foreign wars to endeavour to gratify this restless disposition.

It is not possible that the several cantons should attempt reciprocally to subdue each other. Those in which democracy is established, are too feeble to conceive so unreasonable a project; and in the others, the patricians and plebeians will never unite their wishes and their exertions for an aggrandizement, the consequences of which might become fatal to one of the orders.

THE tranquillity of the Helvetic body is still less in danger from their neighbours than from their citizens. As in the disputes between crowned heads, the Swiss observe a very impartial neutrality, and as they never become guarantees of any engagement, they are not known to have any enemies. If any power should think it had a cause of complaint against them, it would stifle its resentment from the well-grounded apprehension of miscarrying in its projects of revenge against a country entirely military, and which reckons as many soldiers as men. If even it were certain of conquering them, they would never be attacked, because the blindest and most violent policy

policy doth not exterminate a people to take possession of nothing but rocks. Such are the motives which induce us to believe in the stability of the republic of Switzerland.

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It now remains that we speak of the ecclesiastical government. If the foundation of Christianity presents us with a scene that astonishes the mind, the history of the revolutions in the government of the church is not less surprising. What an enormous difference is there between St. Peter, a poor fisherman, on the borders of the lake of Genesareth, and servant of the servants of God; and some of his proud successors, their brows girt with the triple crown, masters of Rome, and of a great part of Italy, and calling themselves the Kings of the Kings of the earth! Let us trace things up to their origin; and let us take a rapid view of the splendour and of the corruption of the church. Let us see what it's government is become in the space of eighteen centuries; and let present and future sovereigns learn what they are to expect from the priesthood, the sole principle of which is to render the authority of the magistrates subordinate to the divine authority, of which it is the depositary.

IN an obscure village of Judea, and in the house of a poor carpenter, there arose a man of austere morals. His candour was disgusted with the hypocrisy of the priests of his time. He had discovered the vanity of legal ceremonies, and the vice of expiations; at thirty years of age this virtuous person quitted his employment, and began to preach his opinions. The multitude,

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from the villages and country places flocked around him, listened to him, and followed him. He associated to himself a small number of disciples, ignorant and weak men, taken from the lowest conditions of life. He wandered for some time about the capital, and at length ventured to appear there. One of his own disciples betrayed him, and the other denied him. He was taken up, accused of blasphemy, and crucified between two thieves. After his death his disciples appeared in the public places, and in the great cities, at Antioch, at Alexandria, and at Rome. They announced, both to barbarous and civilized people, at Athens and at Corinth, the resurrection of their Master; and the belief of their doctrine, which seemed so contrary to reason, was universally adopted. In all parts corrupt men embraced a system of morality, austere in its principles, and unsociable in its councils. Persecution arose; and the preachers, together with their converts, were imprisoned, scourged, and put to death. The more blood is spilt, the more doth the sect extend itself. In less than three centuries, the temples of idolatry are subverted, or abandoned; and notwithstanding the hatred, heresies, schisms, and sanguinary quarrels, which have torn Christianity since its origin, even down to our latter times; yet there are scarce any altars remaining, except such as are raised to the man God, who died upon a cross.

It was no difficult matter to demonstrate to the Pagans the absurdity of their worship; and in all general, as well as particular disputes,
if

if we can prove that our adversary is in the wrong, he immediately concludes that we are in the right. Providence, which tends to the accomplishment of it's designs by all sorts of means, intended that this mode of reasoning should lead men into the way of salvation. The founder of Christianity did not arrogate to himself any authority, either over the partners of his mission, or over his followers, or over his fellow-citizens. He respected the authority of Cæsar. When he saved the life of an adulterous woman, he took care not to attack the law which condemned her to death. He referred two brothers, who were at variance concerning the division of an inheritance, to the civil tribunal. When persecuted, he suffered persecution. In the midst of intolerant persons, he recommended toleration. *You shall not, said he to his disciples, command fire to come down from heaven upon the head of the unbeliever ; you shall shake off the very dust from your feet, and you shall retire :* Fastened to a cross, his head crowned with thorns, his side pierced with a spear, he said to God: *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* To instruct and to baptize the nations, was the object of the mission of the apostles ; to employ persuasion and not violence ; to go about in the same manner God had sent his Son, such were the means employed for the purpose. Priesthood hath in no time conformed itself to such maxims ; and yet religion hath not been the less prosperous.

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IN proportion as the new doctrine gained ground, a kind of hierarchy was instituted among its ministers, consisting of bishops, priests, acolytes, and sacristans, or porters. The object of the administration itself, included doctrine, discipline, and morals. To confer sacred orders, was the first act of the jurisdiction of the church. To set persons free, or to bind them, and to appoint a spiritual and voluntary expiation for offences, was the second. To excommunicate the rebellious sinner, or the heretic, was the third; and the fourth, which is common to every association, was to institute rules of discipline. These rules, at first kept secret, and which were chiefly on the administration of the sacraments, were made public. Assemblies, or councils, were holden. The bishops were the representatives of the apostles; the rest of the clergy were subordinate to them. Nothing was decided without the concurrence of the faithful; so that this was a true Democracy. Civil matters were referred to the arbitration of the bishops. The Christians were blamed for having law-suits; and still more for exposing themselves to be brought before the magistrate. It is probable that property was in common, and that the bishop disposed of it at pleasure.

HITHERTO every thing was conducted without the interference of the secular power. But under Aurelian, the Christians applied to the Emperor for justice against Paul of Samosata. Constantine banished Arius, and condemned his writings

to the flames; Theodosius persecuted Nestorius; and these innovations fixed the period of the second state of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; when it had now deviated from it's primitive simplicity, and was become a mixture of spiritual power and coercive authority. The faithful, already extremely numerous, in the second century, were distributed in different churches subject to the same administration. Among these churches, there were some more or less considerable; secular authority interfered in the election of bishops; and the confusion between these two powers increased. There were some poor, and some rich among them, and this was the first origin of the ambition of the clergy. There were indigent believers among them all; and the bishops became the dispensers of the alms: and this is the most antient source of the corruption of the church.

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WHAT a rapid progress hath ecclesiastical authority made since the end of the third century! Proceedings are carried on before the bishops; and they become the arbiters in civil matters. The judicial sentence of the bishop admits of no appeal; and the execution of it is referred to the magistrates. The trial of a priest cannot be carried out of the province. A distinction arises between civil and ecclesiastical crimes, and this gives birth to the privilege of the clergy. The appeal to the sovereign is allowed, if it should happen that the sentence of the bishop should be invalidated at the tribunal of the magistrates. Long before these concessions, the bishops had

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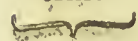
obtained the inspection over the police, and the morals; they took cognisance of prostitutions, foundlings, guardianships, lunatics, and minors; they visited the prisons; they solicited the enlargement of the prisoners; they denounced the negligent judges to the sovereign; they interfered with the disposal of the public money; with the construction and repairing of the great roads, and other edifices. Thus it is, that under pretence of assisting each other, the two authorities were blended, and paved the way for the dissensions which were one day to arise between them. Such was in the first centuries, in the prosperous days of the church, the third state of it's government, HALF CIVIL, HALF ECCLESIASTICAL, to which, at present, we scarcely know what name to give. Was it from the weakness of the emperors, from their fear, from intrigue or from sanctity of manners, that the chiefs of Christianity conciliated to themselves so many important prerogatives? At that time religious terror had peopled the deserts with Anchorets, more than seventy-six thousand of whom were reckoned; this was a nursery of deacons, priests, and bishops.

CONTENAINST transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium. Rome was no more it's capital. The barbarians, who had taken it more than once, and ravaged it, were converted. It was the fate of Christianity, which had conquered the gods of the Capitol, to subdue of the destroyers the throne of the Cæsars; but in changing their religion, these chiefs of hords did not change their
manners.

manners. What strange kind of Christians were Clovis and his successors, exclaims the author of the history of the church! Notwithstanding the analogy between the ecclesiastical and the feudal government, it would be an illusion to make one the model of the other. Literature was no longer cultivated; and the priests employed the little knowledge they had preserved, in forging titles, and in fabricating legends. The harmony between the two powers was disturbed. The origin and the riches of the bishops attached the Romans, who neither had, nor could have, any thing but contempt and aversion for their new masters; some of whom were Pagans, others Heretics, and all of them ferocious. No man ever doubted of the donation of Constantine; and that of Pepin was confirmed by Charlemagne. The grandeur of the bishops of Rome increased under Lewis the Debonnaire, and under Otho. They arrogated that sovereignty which their benefactors had reserved for themselves. Like other potentates, they founded their claim upon proscription. The church was already infested with pernicious maxims; and the opinion that, the bishop of Rome might depose kings, was universally adopted. Different causes afterwards concurred in establishing the supremacy of this see over the rest. The prince of the apostles had been the first bishop of Rome. Rome was the center of union between all the other churches, the indigence of which she relieved. She had been the capital of the world; and the Christians were not so numerous any where else. The title

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of pope was a title common to all bishops, over whom the bishop of Rome did not obtain the superiority, till the end of the eleventh century. At that time ecclesiastical government tended not only to MONARCHY, but had even advanced towards UNIVERSAL MONARCHY.

TOWARDS the end of the eighth century, the famous decretals of Isidorus of Seville appeared. The pope announced himself to be infallible. He withdrew himself from his former submission to the councils. He held in his hand two swords, one the emblem of his spiritual, the other of his temporal power. Discipline was no more. The priests were the slaves of the pope; and kings were his vassals. He required tributes from them; he abolished the antient judges, and appointed new ones. He created primates. The clergy were exempted from all civil jurisdiction; and Gratian the monk, by his decree, completed the mischief occasioned by the decretals. The clergy employed themselves in augmenting their income, by every possible mode. The possession of their estates, was declared immutable and sacred. Men were terrified with temporal, as well as spiritual threats. Tithes were exacted. A traffic was made of relics; and pilgrimages were encouraged. This completed the destruction of morality, and the last stroke was thus given to the discipline of the church. A criminal life was expiated by a wandering one. Events were construed into the judgments of God; and decisions by water, by fire, or by the destiny of the saints, were adopted. The folly of judiciary
astrology

astrology was added to superstitious opinions. Such was the state of the Western church. AN ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, with all it's atrocious characters.

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THE Eastern church experienced also it's calamities. The Grecian empire had been dismembered by the Arabian Mussulmen, by modern Scythians, by the Bulgarians, and by the Russians. These last were not amended by being washed with the waters of baptism. Mohammedism deprived Christianity of part of it's followers, and threw the rest into slavery. In the West, the Barbarians converted to Christianity, had carried their manners along with them into the church. In the East, the Greeks had become depraved by their commercial intercourse with a race of men perfectly similar. Nevertheless, literature seemed to revive, under the learned and vicious Photius. While the clergy of the East were striving against ignorance, our clergy in the West became hunters, and warriors, and were possessed of lordships subject to military service. Bishops and monks marched under standards, massacred, and were massacred. The privileges of their domains had engaged them in public affairs. They wandered about with the ambulatory courts; they assisted at the national assemblies, which were become parliaments, or councils; and this was the period of entire confusion between the two powers. Then it was that the bishops pretended openly to be the judges of sovereigns; that Vamba was compelled to do penance, invested with a monk's habit, and

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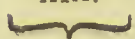


deposed; that the right of reigning was contested to Lewis the Debonnaire; that the popes interfered in the quarrels between nations, not as mediators but as despots; that Adrian II. forbade Charles the Bald to invade the states of his nephew Clotaire; and that Gregory IX. wrote to St. Lewis in these terms; *We have condemned Frederick II., who called himself Emperor, and have deposed him; and we have elected in his stead Count Robert, your brother.*

BUT if the clergy inroached upon the rights of the temporal power, the lay lords appointed, and installed priests, without the participation of the bishops; regular benefices were given to seculars, and the convents were pillaged. Neither incontinence nor simony excited any shame. Bishopricks were sold. Abbeys purchased. Priests had either a wife or a concubine. The public temples were forsaken; and this disorder brought on the abuse and contempt of censures, which were poured forth against kings, and against their subjects; and torrents of blood were shed in all countries. The church, and the empire, were then in a state of ANARCHY. Pilgrimages were preludes to the crusades, or the expiation for crimes and assassinations. Ecclesiastics of all orders, believers of all ranks, enlisted themselves. Persons loaded with debts were dispensed from paying them; malefactors escaped the pursuit of the laws; corrupt monks broke through the restraints of their solitude; dissolute husbands forsook their wives. Courtesans exercised their infamous trade, at the foot of the sepulchre of their

God,

God, and near to the tent of their sovereign. But it was impossible to carry on this expedition, and the succeeding ones, without funds. An impost was levied, and this gave rise to the claims of the pope upon all the estates of the church; to the institution of a multitude of military orders; to the alternative given to the vanquished, of slavery, or of embracing Christianity; of death, or of baptism; and to console the reader for so many calamities, this circumstance occasioned the increase of navigation and commerce, which enriched Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence; the decline of the feudal government, by the disorder in the fortunes of the noblemen, and the habit of the sea, which, perhaps, paved the way from afar for the discovery of the New World. But I have not the courage to pursue any further the account of the disorders, and of the exorbitant increase of papal authority. Under Innocent III. there was no more than one tribunal in the world, and that was at Rome; there was but one master, and he was at Rome, from whence he reigned over Europe by his legates. The ecclesiastical hierarchy extended itself one step further, by the creation of cardinals. Nothing was now wanting to the despot but Janisaries; whom he acquired by creating a multitude of monastic orders. Rome, formerly the mistress of the world by arms, became so by opinion. But why did the popes, who were all-powerful over the minds of men, forget to maintain the terrors of their spiritual thunder, by directing it only against ambitious or unjust sovereigns?

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reigns? Who knows whether this kind of tribunal, so much wished for, to which crowned heads might be summoned, would not have existed to this day in Rome, and whether the threats of one common father, supported by general superstition, might not have put an end to every military contest?

THE pápal militia, composed of monks, who were laborious and austere in their origin, became corrupted. The bishops, tired out with the enterprizes of the legates, of the secular magistrates, and of the monks, over their jurisdiction, incroached, on their parts, upon the secular jurisdiction, with a degree of boldness of which it is difficult to form an idea. If the clergy could have determined to erect gibbets, perhaps we should at present be under a government entirely sacerdotal. It is the maxim, that *the church abhors the effusion of blood*, which has preserved us from it. There were schools in France and in Italy; and those at Paris were famous towards the eleventh century. The number of colleges was increased, and nevertheless this state of the church, which we have described without malice, or exaggeration, was continued in all Christian countries, from the ninth to the fourteenth century, an interval of four or five hundred years. The emperors have lost Italy, and the popes have acquired a great temporal power. No one hath yet raised himself against their spiritual power. The interests of this sovereign are embraced by all the Italians. The dignity of episcopacy is eclipsed by that of cardinal, and the secular clergy

clergy were always ruled by the regular clergy. Venice alone hath know'n and defended it's rights. The irruption of the Moors in Spain, hath throw'n Christianity there into an abject state, from which it hath scarce emerged, for these two last centuries; and even down to our days, the inquisition displays it under the most hideous aspect. The inquisition, a terrible tribunal, a tribunal insulting to the spirit of Jesus Christ. A tribunal, which ought to be detested by sovereigns, by bishops, by magistrates, and by subjects. By sovereigns, whom it ventures to threaten, and whom it hath sometimes cruelly persecuted; by bishops, whose jurisdiction it annihilates; by the magistrates, whose legitimate authority it usurps; by the subjects, whom it keeps in continual terror; whom it reduces to silence, and condemns to stupidity; from the danger that attends their acquiring instruction, their reading, their writing, and their speaking; a tribunal which hath only owed it's institution, and which only owes it's continuance, in those regions where it is still maintained, to a sacrilegious policy, jealous of perpetuating prejudices and prerogatives, which could not have been discussed, without being dispelled.

BEFORE the schism of Henry VIII. England was subject to the pope, even in temporal concerns. London shook off the yoke of Rome; but this reformation was less the effect of reason than of passion. Germany hath been a continual scene of violence on both sides; and since the time of Luther, the Catholics, and Schismatics, have shew'n

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shew'n themselves equally enthusiasts in that country, the former for papal tyranny, the latter for independence. Christianity was established in Poland, with all the claims of papal authority. In France the temporal power was considered as subordinate to the spiritual power. According to the sentiment of the favourers of the Tramon-tane opinions, this kingdom, as well as all the kingdoms of the earth, was subject to the church of Rome; it's princes might be excommu-nicated, and it's subjects freed from the oath of allegiance. But the papal colossus was shaken, and even since the fourteenth century it ap-proached the instant of it's downfall. Then literature was revived; the antient languages were cultivated; the first Hebrew grammar was printed, and the Royal College was founded. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the art of printing was invented. A multitude of writings of all kinds were draw'n out of the dust of monastic libraries, to be diffused among the people. The vulgar tongue was improved, and translations were made. The sovereign, and in-dividuals, collected great libraries. The decrees of the councils, the fathers, and the holy scrip-tures were read. The canon law was attended to, and the history of the church was investi-gated. The spirit of criticism arose, and the apocryphal books were detected; while inspired writings were restored to their original purity. The eyes of the sovereigns and of the clergy were opened, and they were enlightened by re-ligious disputes. The origin of immunities, ex-
emptions,

emptions; and privileges, was traced, and the futility of them was demonstrated. Antient times were searched into, and their discipline compared to modern customs. The hierarchy of the church resumed it's influence, and the two powers withdrew into their respective limits. The decisions of the church resumed their efficacy; and if papal tyranny hath not been extinguished in France, it is at least confined within very narrow bounds. In 1681, the clergy of that kingdom decided, that temporal power was independent of spiritual power, and that the pope was subject to the canons of the church. If the mission of the priest be of divine right; if it belong to him to set men free, and to enclose them in bonds, can he not excommunicate the impenitent sinner, or the heretic, whether he be a sovereign or a private man? According to our principles, this is a power that cannot be denied to him: but prudent men perceived, in this violent proceeding, such mischievous consequences, that they have declared it was scarce ever to be referred to. Doth excommunication involve the deposition of the sovereign, and disengage the subjects from their oath of allegiance? It would be high-treason to suppose it. Hence we see, that the ecclesiastical government, at least, in France, hath passed on, from the *tyranny of anarchy, to a kind of moderate Aristocracy.*

BUT if I might be allowed to explain myself upon a matter so important, I should venture to say, that neither in England, nor in the countries of Germany, of the United Provinces, and of the North,

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North, the true principles have been traced: Had they been better know'n, how much blood and how many troubles they would have spared; the blood of Pagans, Heretics, and Christians; since the first origin of natural forms of worship to the present day; and how much would they spare in future, if the rulers of the earth were prudent and steady enough to conform to them?

It appears to me, that the state is not made for religion, but religion for the state; this is the first principle.

THE general interest is the universal rule that ought to prevail in a state: this is the second principle.

THE people, or the sovereign authority, depository of their's, have alone the right to judge of the conformity of any institution whatever with the general interest. This is the third principle.

THESE three principles appear to me incontestibly evident; and the propositions that follow, are no more than corollaries deduced from them.

It therefore belongs to this authority, and to this authority alone, to examine the tenets and the discipline of religion. The tenets, in order to ascertain, whether, being contrary to common sense, they will not expose the public tranquillity to commotions, so much the more dangerous, as the ideas of future happiness will be complicated with zeal for the glory of God; and with submission

sion, to truths, which will be considered as revealed. The discipline, to observe whether it doth not clash with the prevailing manners, extinguish the spirit of patriotism, damp the ardour of courage, occasion an aversion for industry, for marriage, and for public affairs; whether it be not injurious to population, and to the social state; whether it doth not inspire fanaticism, and a spirit of intoleration; whether it doth not sow the seeds of division between the relations of the same family, between families of the same city, between the cities of the same kingdom, and between the several kingdoms of the earth; whether it doth not diminish the respect due to the sovereign, and the magistrates, and whether it doth not inculcate maxims so austere as to occasion melancholy, or practices which lead on to extravagance.

THIS authority, and this authority alone, can therefore proscribe the established mode of worship, adopt a new one, or even abolish every form of worship, if it should find it convenient. The general form of government being always settled at the first minute of it's adoption; how is it possible that religion should give the law by it's antiquity?

THE state hath the supremacy in every thing. The distinction between a temporal and a spiritual power is a palpable absurdity; and there neither can, nor ought to be, any more than one sole and single jurisdiction, wherever it belongs, to public utility alone, to order, or to defend.

FOR

FOR every offence whatever there should be but one tribunal ; for every guilty person but one prison ; for every illegal action but one law. Every contrary claim is injurious to the equality of the citizens ; every possession is an usurpation of the claimant, at the expence of the common interest.

THERE should be no other councils than the assembly of the ministers of the sovereign. When the administrators are assembled, the church is assembled. When the state has pronounced, the church has nothing more to say.

THERE should be no other canons, except the edicts of the princes, and the decrees of the courts of judicature.

WHAT is a common offence, and a privileged offence, where there is but one law, and one public matter, between the citizens.

IMMUNITIES, and other exclusive privileges, are so many acts of injustice, exercised against the other ranks of society that are deprived of them.

A BISHOP, a priest, or a member of the clerical body, may quit his country, if he chooses it ; but then he is nothing. It belongs to the state to watch over his conduct, to appoint and to remove him.

IF we understand by a benefice, any thing more than the salary every citizen ought to reap from his labour, this is an abuse which requires a speedy reformation. The man who doth nothing hath no right to eat.

AND

AND wherefore should not the priest acquire, enrich himself, enjoy, sell, buy, and make his will, as another citizen?

LET him be chaste, docile, humble, and even indigent; let him not be fond of women, let him be of a meek disposition, and let him prefer bread and water to all the conveniencies of life; but let him be forbidden to bind himself to these observances by vows. The vow of chastity is repugnant to nature, and injurious to population; the vow of poverty is only that of a foolish, or of an idle man; the vow of obedience to any other than to the ruling power, and to the law, is that of a slave or of a rebel.

IF there existed, therefore, in any district of a country, sixty thousand citizens bound by such vows, what could the sovereign do better, than to repair to the spot, with a sufficient number of satellites, armed with whips, and to say to them: Go forth, ye lazy wretches, go forth; go to the fields, to agriculture, to the manufactures, to the militia?

CHARITY is the common duty of all those whose property exceeds their absolute wants.

THE relief of old men, and of indigent and old persons, is the duty of the state they have served.

LET there be no other apostles but the legislator, and the magistrates.

LET there be no sacred writings, except those which they shall acknowledge as such.

LET there be no divine right, but the good of the republic.

I COULD extend these consequences to many other objects; but I stop here, protesting, that if in what I have said there should be any thing contrary to the good order of a well-regulated society, and to the felicity of the citizens, I retract: although I can scarce persuade myself, that the nations can become enlightened, and not be sensible one day of the truth of my principles. As for the rest, I forewarn my readers, that I have spoken only of the external forms of religion. With respect to internal religion, man is only accountable for it to God. It is a secret between man and him, who hath taken him out of nothing, and can plunge him into it again.

If we now take a review of what has been said, we shall find, that all the governments of Europe are comprehended under some of the forms we have been describing, and are differently modelled according to the local situation, the degree of population, the extent of territory, the influence of opinions and occupations, and the external connections and vicissitudes of events that act upon the system of the body politic, as the impression of surrounding fluids does upon natural bodies.

WE are not to imagine, as it is often asserted, that all governments nearly resemble each other, and that the only difference between them consists in the character of those who govern. This maxim may, perhaps, be true in absolute governments, among such nations as have no principles of liberty. These take the turn the prince gives them; they are haughty, proud, and courageous, under a monarch

monarch who is active and fond of glory; indolent and stupid under a superstitious king; full of hopes and fears under a young prince; of weakness and corruption under an old despot; or rather alternately confident, and weak, under the several ministers who are raised by intrigue. In such states, government assumes the character of the administration; but in free states it is just the reverse.

WHATEVER may be said of the nature and springs of the different systems of government to which men are subject, the art of legislation being that which ought to be the most perfect, is also the most proper to employ men of the first genius. The science of government does not contain abstracted truths, or rather it has not one single principle which does not extend to all the branches of administration.

THE state is a very complicated machine, which cannot be wound up or set in motion without a thorough knowledge of all its component parts. If any one of the parts be too much straitened or relaxed, the whole must be in disorder. Every project that may be beneficial to a certain number of citizens, or in critical times, may become fatal to the whole nation, and prejudicial for a long continuance. If we destroy or change the nature of any great body, those convulsive motions which are called strokes of state, will disturb the whole nation, which may, perhaps, feel the effects of them for ages to come. All innovations ought to be brought about insensibly; they should arise from necessity, be the result, as it were, of the public clamour, or at least agree with the

general wishes. To abolish old customs, or to introduce new ones on a sudden, tends only to increase that which is bad, and to prevent the effect of that which is good. To act without consulting the will of the generality, without collecting, as it were, the majority of votes in the public opinion, is to alienate the hearts and minds of men, and to bring every thing into discredit, even what is honest and good.

It would be a desirable thing in Europe, that the sovereigns, convinced of the necessity of improving the science of government, should imitate a custom established in China. In this empire, the ministers are distinguished into two classes, the *thinkers*, and the *signers*. While the latter are employed in the arrangement and dispatch of public affairs, the first attend only to the forming of projects, or to the examination of such as are presented to them. According to the admirers of the Chinese government, this is the source of all those judicious regulations, which establish in those regions the most enlightened systems of legislation, together with the most prudent administration. All Asia is subject to a despotic government; but in Turkey and Persia, it is a despotism of opinion by means of religion; in China, it is the despotism of the laws by the influence of reason. Among the Mohammedans, they believe in the divine authority of the prince; among the Chinese, they believe in natural authority, founded upon the law of reason. But in these empires it is conviction that influences the will.

· IN the happy state of policy and knowlege to which Europe hath attained, it is plain that this conviction of the mind, which produces a free, easy and general obedience, can proceed from nothing but a certain evidence of the utility of the laws. If the governments will not pay *thinkers*, who may, perhaps, become suspicious or corrupt as soon as they are mercenary; let them, at least, allow men of superior understandings to watch in some measure over the public good. Every writer of genius is born a magistrate of his country; and he ought to enlighten it as much as it is in his power. His abilities give him a right to do it. Whether he be an obscure or a distinguished citizen, whatever be his rank or birth, his mind, which is always noble, derives it's claims from his talents. His tribunal is the whole nation; his judge is the public, not the despot who does not hear him, nor the minister who will not attend to him.

ALL these truths have, doubtless, their boundaries; but it is always more dangerous to suppress the freedom of thought, than to leave it to it's bent or impetuosity. Reason and truth triumph over those daring and violent minds, which are roused only by restraint, and irritated only by persecution. Kings and ministers, love your people, love mankind, and ye will be happy. Ye will have then no reason to fear men of free sentiments or unsatisfied minds, nor the revolt of bad men. The revolt of the heart is much more dangerous; for virtue, when soured, and roused into indignation, is guilty of the most atrocious acts.

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Cato and Brutus were both virtuous: they were reduced to the alternative of choosing between two great enormities, suicide, or the death of Cæsar.

REMEMBER that the interests of government and those of the nation are the same. Whoever attempts to separate them, is unacquainted with their true nature, and will only injure them.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when the wills of individuals are substituted to the established order. The laws, and those alone, ought to have the sway. This universal rule is not a yoke for the citizens, but a power which protects them, and a watchfulness which insures their tranquillity. They think themselves free; and this opinion, which constitutes their happiness, determines their submission. If the arbitrary caprices of a turbulent and enterprising administrator should subvert this fortunate system, the people, who from habit, prejudice, or self-love, are generally inclined to consider the government under which they live as the best of all possible governments, are deprived of this illusion, to which nothing can be substituted.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when it obstinately perseveres in any error into which it hath fallen. Let it not be blinded by a foolish pride, and it will perceive that those changes, which bring it back to what is true and good, far from weakening its springs, will strengthen them. To be undeceived with respect to a dangerous mistake, is not to contradict one's self; it is not to display to the people the inconstancy of government;

government; it is to demonstrate to them it's wisdom and it's uprightness. If their respect were to diminish, it would be for that power which would never know it's mistakes, or would always justify them; and not for those who would avow and correct them.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when it sacrifices the tranquillity, ease, and blood of the people, to the terrible and transient brilliancy of warlike exploits. It is in vain that we endeavour to justify these destructive propensities, by statues, and by inscriptions. These monuments of arrogance and flattery will one day be destroyed by time, or overthrow'n by hatred. The memory of that prince only will be respected, who shall have preferred peace, which must have ensured happiness to his subjects, to victories, which would have been only for himself; who shall have considered the empire as his family; who shall have made no other use of his power, than for the advantage of those who had intrusted him with it. His name and his character will be universally cherished. Fathers will inform posterity of the happiness which they enjoyed. Their children will repeat it to their descendants; and this delightful remembrance will be preserved from one age to another, and will be perpetuated in each family, and to the remotest centuries.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when the person into whose hands the reins of government have been placed, by birth or election, suffers them to be guided at pleasure by blind chance; when he prefers a mean repose to the

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dignity and the importance of the functions with which he is intrusted. His inaction is criminal and infamous. The indulgence with which his faults might have been treated, will be justly denied to his indolence. This severity will be the more lawful, as his character will have determined him to choose for substitutes the first ambitious men who may offer, and these almost necessarily men of no capacity. If even he had the singular good fortune of making a good choice, he would still be unpardonable, because it is not allowable to impose our duties upon others. He will die without having lived. His name will be forgotten; or if remembered, it will only be as the names of those sluggish kings, the years of whose reign history hath with reason disdained to count.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when the posts which determine the public tranquillity are intrusted to vile or corrupt men of intrigue; when favour shall obtain the rewards due to services; when the powerful springs, which insure the grandeur and the duration of empires, are destroyed. All emulation is extinct. The enlightened and laborious citizens either conceal themselves, or retire. The wicked and the audacious shew themselves insolently, and prosper. Every thing is directed and determined by presumption, by interest, and by the most disordinate passions. Justice is disregarded, virtue is degraded, and propriety, which might in some measure be a substitute to it, is considered as an old prejudice, or a ridiculous custom. Discour-

ragement within, and opprobrium without, these are all that remain to a nation formerly powerful and respected.

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THERE may sometimes be people dissatisfied under a good government; but where there are many that are unhappy, without any kind of public prosperity, then it is that the government is vicious in it's nature.

MANKIND are just as we would have them to be; it is the mode of government which gives them a good or an evil propensity.

A STATE ought to have one object only in view; and that is, public felicity. Every state has a particular manner of promoting this end; which may be considered as it's spirit, it's principle, to which every thing else is subordinate.

A NATION can have no industry for the arts, nor courage for war, without a confidence in, and an attachment to, the government. But when the principle of fear hath broken every other spring of the soul, a nation then becomes of no consequence, the prince is exposed to a thousand enterprises from without, and a thousand dangers from within. Despised by his neighbours, and abhorred by his subjects, he must be in perpetual fear for the safety of his kingdom, as well as for that of his own life. It is a happiness for a nation, that commerce, arts and sciences, should flourish within it. It is even a happiness for those who govern, when they are not inclined to exert acts of tyranny. Upright minds are very easily led; but none have a greater aversion for violence and slavery. Let good monarchs be blessed with enlightened people;

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people; and let tyrants have none but brutes to reign over.

MILITARY power is both the cause and the destruction of despotism; which in it's infant state may be compared to a lion that conceals his talons in order to let them grow. In it's full vigour, it may be considered as a madman who tears his body to pieces with his arms. In it's advanced age, it is like Saturn, who, after having devoured his children, is shamefully mutilated by his own race.

GOVERNMENT may be divided into legislation and policy. Legislation relates to the internal management of the state, and policy to the external direction of it.

Policy.

SAVAGE nations, which are addicted to hunting, have rather a policy than a legislation. Governed among themselves by manners and example, the only conventions or laws they have, are between one nation and another. Treaties of peace or alliance constitute their only code of legislation.

SUCH were nearly the societies of ancient times. Separated by deserts, without any communication of trade or voyages, they had only a present and immediate interest to settle. All their negotiations consisted in putting an end to a war by fixing the boundaries of a state. As it was necessary to persuade a nation, and not bribe a court by the mistresses or favourites of a prince, eloquent men were employed for this purpose, and the names of orator and ambassador were synonymous.

IN the middle ages, when every thing, even justice itself, was decided by force; when the Gothic government divided by separate interests all those petty states which owed their existence to it's constitution; negociations had but little influence over a wild and recluse people, who knew no right but that of war, no treaties but for truces or ransoms.

DURING this long period of ignorance and barbarism, policy was entirely confined to the court of Rome. It had arisen from the artifices which had founded the papal government. As the pontiffs, by the laws of religion and the system of the hierarchy, influenced a very numerous clergy, whose proselytes extended perpetually in all the christian states, the correspondence kept up with the bishops, established early at Rome a center of communication for all the different churches, or nations. All rights were subordinate to a religion which exercised an absolute authority over the mind of every individual; it had a share in almost every transaction, either as the motive or the means; and the popes, by the Italian agents they had placed in all the prelacies of the christian state, were constantly informed of every commotion, and availed themselves of every event. They had the highest interest in this; that of attaining universal monarchy. The barbarism of the times in which this project was conceived, does not lessen it's greatness and sublimity. How daring was the attempt, to subdue, without troops, nations that were always in arms! What art to make even the weakness of the clergy respectable and sacred!

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cred! What skill to agitate, to shake thrones one after the other, in order to keep them all in subjection! So deep, so extensive a design could only be carried into execution, by being concealed; and therefore was inconsistent with an hereditary monarchy; in which the passions of kings and the intrigues of ministers are the cause of so much instability in affairs. This project, and the general rule of conduct it requires, could not be formed but in an elective government, in which the chief is always chosen from a body animated with the same spirit, and guided by the same maxims; in which an aristocratic court rather governs the prince, than suffers itself to be governed by him.

WHILE Italian policy was engaged in examining all the states of Europe, and availing itself of every opportunity to aggrandize and confirm the power of the church, each sovereign saw with indifference the revolutions that were taking place without. Most of them were too much engaged in establishing their authority in their own dominions, in disputing the branches of power with the several bodies which were in possession of them, or which were striving against the natural bent that monarchy has to despotism: they were not sufficiently masters of their own inheritance, to interfere in the disputes of their neighbours.

THE fifteenth century changed the order of things. When the princes had collected their forces, they were inclined to bring them to action, and try their respective strength. Till that time, the nations had only carried on war with each other
upon

upon their several frontiers. The season of the campaign was lost in assembling troops, which every baron always raised very slowly. There were then only skirmishes between small parties, nor any regular battles between different armies. When a prince, either by alliances or inheritance, had acquired possessions in different states, the interests were confounded, and contentions arose among the people. It was necessary to send regular troops in the pay of the monarch, to defend at a distance territories that did not belong to the state. The crown of England no longer held provinces in the midst of France; but that of Spain acquired some rights in Germany; and that of France laid some claims in Italy. From that time all Europe was in a perpetual alternate state of war and negotiation.

THE ambition, talents, and rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I. gave rise to the present system of modern politics. Before these two kings, France and Spain had disputed the kingdom of Naples, in the name of the houses of Arragon and Anjou. Their dissensions had excited a ferment throughout all Italy, and the republic of Venice was the chief cause of that intestine commotion that was excited against two foreign powers. The Germans took a part in these disturbances, either as auxiliaries, or as being interested in them. The emperor and the pope were concerned in them with almost all Christendom. But Francis I. and Charles V. engaged in their fate, the views, the anxiety, the destiny of all Europe. All the powers seemed to be divided

vided between two rival houses, in order to weaken alternately the most powerful. Fortune favoured the talents, the force, and the artifice of Charles V. More ambitious and less voluptuous than Francis I., his character turned the scale, and Europe for a time inclined to his side, but did not continue always to favour the same interest.

PHILIP II. who had all the spirit of intrigue, but not the military virtues of his father, inherited his projects and ambitious views, and found the times favourable to his aggrandizement. He exhausted his kingdom of men and ships, and even of money, though he was in possession of the mines of the New World; and left behind him a more extensive monarchy, but Spain itself in a much weaker state than it had been under his father.

HIS son imagined he should again make all Europe dependent, by an alliance with that branch of his house which reigned in Germany. Philip II. had through negligence relinquished this political idea; Philip III. resumed it. But in other respects he followed the erroneous, narrow, superstitious and pedantic principles of his predecessor. Within the state, there was much formality, but no order, and no œconomy. The church was perpetually incroaching upon the state. The inquisition, that horrid monster, which conceals it's head in the heavens, and it's feet in the infernal regions, struck at the root of population, which at the same time suffered considerably from war and the colonies. In the external operations of the state, there were still the same ambitious views, and less skilful measures.

fores. Rash and precipitate in his enterprises, slow and obstinate in the execution of them, Philip III. had all those defects which are prejudicial to each other, and occasion every project to miscarry. He destroyed the small degree of life and vigour the monarchy yet retained. Richelieu availed himself of the weakness of Spain, and the foibles of the king whom he ruled over, to fill that period with his intrigues, and cause his name to descend to posterity. Germany and Spain were in some manner connected to each other by the House of Austria: to this league, he opposed that of France with Sweden, to counteract the effect of the former. This system would naturally have taken place in his times, if it had not been the work of his genius. Gustavus Adolphus by his conquests enslaved all the north. All Europe concurred in lowering the pride of the House of Austria; and the peace of the Pyrenees turned the scale against Spain in favour of France.

CHARLES V. had been accused of aiming at universal monarchy; and Lewis XIV. was taxed with the same ambition. But neither of them ever conceived so high and so rash a project. They were both of them passionately desirous of extending their empire, by the aggrandizement of their families. This ambition is equally natural to princes of common abilities, who are born without any talents, as it is to monarchs of superior understanding, who have no virtues or moral qualifications. But neither Charles V. nor Lewis XIV. had that kind of spirit of resolution, that

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that impulse of the soul to brave every thing, which constitutes heroic conquerors: they bore no resemblance in any particular to Alexander. Nevertheless useful alarms were taken and spread abroad. Such alarms cannot be too soon conceived, nor too soon diffused, when there arise any powers that are formidable to their neighbours. It is chiefly among nations, and with respect to kings, that fear produces safety.

WHEN Lewis XIV. began to reflect on his own situation, perhaps, he might be surprised at seeing himself more powerful than he thought he was. His greatness was partly owen to the little harmony that subsisted between the forces and the designs of his enemies. Europe had, indeed, felt the necessity of a general union, but had not discovered the means of forming it. In treating with this monarch, proud of success, and vain from the applause he had received, it was thought a considerable advantage if every thing was not given up. In a word, the insults of France which increased with her victories; the natural turn of her intrigues to spread dissention every where, in order to reign alone; her contempt for the faith of treaties; the haughty and authoritative tone she usurped, turned the general envy she had excited into detestation, and raised universal alarms. Even those princes, who had seen without umbrage, or favoured the increase of her power, felt the necessity of repairing this error in politics, and of combining and raising among themselves a body of forces superior to those of France,

France, in order to prevent her tyrannizing over the nations.

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LEAGUES were, therefore, formed, which were for a long time ineffectual. One man alone was found capable to animate and conduct them. Warmed with that public spirit, which only great and virtuous souls can possess, it was a prince, though born in a republic, who for the general cause of Europe was inflamed with that love of liberty, so natural to upright minds. He turned his ambition towards the greatest object and most worthy of the time in which he lived. His own interest never warped him from that of the public. With a courage peculiar to himself he knew how to defy those very misfortunes which he foresaw; depending less for success upon his military abilities, than waiting for a favourable turn of affairs, from his patience and political activity. Such was the situation of affairs when the succession to the throne of Spain set all Europe in flames.

SINCE the empire of the Persians and that of the Romans, ambition had never been tempted by so rich a spoil. The prince, who might have united this crown to his own, would naturally have risen to that universal monarchy, the idea of which raised a general alarm. It was, therefore, necessary to prevent this empire from becoming the possession of a power already formidable, and to keep the balance equal between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, which had the only hereditary right to the throne.

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MEN well versed in the knowlege of the manners and affairs of Spain, have asserted, if we may believe Bolingbroke, that had it not been for the hostilities, which were then excited by England and Holland, we should have seen Philip V. as good a Spaniard as his predecessors, and that the French ministry would then have had no influence over the Spanish administration; but that the war raised against the Spaniards for the sake of giving them a ruler, obliged them to have recourse to the fleets and armies of a state that was alone capable of assisting them in fixing upon such a king as they wanted. This just idea, the result of deep reflection, has been confirmed by the experience of half a century. The turn of the Spaniards has never been able to coincide with the taste of the French. Spain, from the character of her inhabitants seems rather to belong to Africa than to Europe.

THE train of events, however, answered to the general wishes. The armies and the councils of the quadruple alliance gained an equal superiority over the common enemy. Instead of those languid and unfortunate campaigns which had tried the patience of the prince of Orange, but not discouraged him, all the operations of the confederates were successful. France, in her turn, humbled and defeated on every side, was upon the brink of ruin, when she was restored by the death of the emperor.

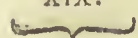
It was then perceived, that if the archduke Charles, crowned with the imperial diadem, and succeeding to all the dominions of the House of Austria,

Austria, should join Spain and the West-Indies to this vast inheritance, he would be in possession of that same exorbitant power, which the House of Bourbon had been deprived of by the war. But the enemies of France still persisted in their design of dethroning Philip V. without thinking of the person that was to succeed him; while true politicians, notwithstanding their triumphs, grew tired of a war, the very success of which always became an evil, when it could no longer do any good.

THIS difference of opinions raised dissensions among the allies, which prevented them from reaping all those advantages from the peace of Utrecht, they might reasonably have expected from their success. The best means that could be devised to protect the provinces of the allies, were to lay open the frontiers of France. Lewis XIV. had employed forty years in fortifying them, and his neighbours had suffered him quietly to raise these bulwarks which kept them in continual awe. It was necessary to demolish them: for every strong power that puts itself in a posture of defence, intends to form an attack. Philip remained upon the throne of Spain; and the fortifications were left standing in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine.

SINCE this period, no opportunity hath offered to rectify the mistake committed at the peace of Utrecht. France hath always maintained it's superiority on the continent; but chance hath often diminished it's influence. The scales of the political balance will never be perfectly even, nor ac-

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curate enough to determine the degrees of power with exact precision. Perhaps, even this balance of power may be nothing more than a chimæra. It can be only fixed by treaties, and these have no validity, when they are only made between absolute monarchs, and not between nations. These acts must be permanent when made by the people themselves, because the object of them is their peace and safety, which are their greatest advantages : but a despot always sacrifices his subjects to his anxiety, and his engagements to his ambition.

BUT it is not war alone that determines the superiority of nations, as it hath been hitherto imagined; since during the last half-century commerce hath had a much greater influence in it. While the powers of the continent divided Europe into unequal portions, which policy by means of leagues, treaties, and alliances always preserved in a certain equilibrium; a maritime people formed as it were a new system, and by their industry made the land subject to the sea; as nature herself has done by her laws. They formed, or brought to perfection that extensive commerce, which is founded on an excellent system of agriculture, flourishing manufactures, and the richest possessions of the four quarters of the world. This is the kind of universal monarchy that Europe ought to wrest from England, in restoring to each maritime state that freedom, and that power it hath a right to have upon the element that surrounds it. This is a system of public good founded upon natural equity, and in
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this case justice is the voice of general interest. The people cannot be too much warned to resume all their powers, and to employ the resources offered them by the climate and the soil they inhabit, to acquire that national and distinct independence in which they were born.

If all Europe were sufficiently enlightened, and each nation were acquainted with it's rights and it's real advantages, neither the continent, nor the ocean would mutually give laws to each other; but a reciprocal influence would be established between the continental and maritime people, a balance of industry and power, which would induce a mutual intercourse for the general benefit. Each nation would sow and reap upon it's proper element. The several states would enjoy the same liberty of exportation and importation that should subsist between the provinces of the same empire.

THERE is a great error that prevails in modern politics, which is, that every state should endeavour to weaken it's enemies as much as possible. But no nation can seek the ruin of another state, without paving the way for, and hastening it's own slavery. There are certainly moments in which fortune at once throws into the way of a people a great increase of power; but such sudden elevations are not lasting. It is sometimes better to support rivals, than to oppress them. Sparta refused to enslave Athens, and Rome repented of having destroyed Carthage,

THESE noble and generous sentiments would prevent policy from the necessity of committing

many crimes, and asserting many falsehoods; policy, which for these two or three centuries past hath had more important and more various objects to attend to. The influence of policy was formerly much limited, it seldom extended beyond the frontiers of the several nations. It's sphere hath been singularly enlarged in proportion as the nations most distant from each other have formed connections among themselves. It hath particularly received an immense increase since the time, when by discoveries, either fortunate or unfortunate, all the parts of the universe have been rendered subordinate to those which we inhabit.

As the operations of policy were multiplied in proportion to the extent which it acquired, every power thought it necessary for their interests to fix agents in foreign courts, who had formerly been employed there but for a very short time. The habit of treating incessantly gave birth to maxims unknow'n before that period. Delays and artifices were substituted to the frankness and celerity of transient negociations. The powers founded and studied each other, and reciprocal attempts were made to tire out or to surprise all parties. Secrets which had been found impenetrable were purchased with gold, and bribery completed what intrigue had begun.

It appeared necessary to furnish a continual supply of matter to quiet that spirit of anxiety with which the minds of all the ambassadors had been impressed. Policy, like that insidious insect that weaves it's web in darkness, hath stretched forth
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it's net in the midst of Europe, and fastened it, as it were, to every court. One single thread cannot be touched without drawing all the rest. The most petty sovereign hath some secret interest in the treaties between the greater powers. Two petty princes of Germany cannot exchange a fief, or a domain, without being thwarted or seconded by the courts of Vienna, Versailles, or London. Negotiations must be carried on in all the cabinets for years together for every the most trifling change in the disposition of the land. The blood of the people is the only thing that is not bargained for. War is determined upon in a day or two; the settling of peace is protracted during several years. This slowness in negotiations, which proceeds from the nature of affairs, is also increased by the character of the negotiators.

THESE are generally ignorant persons, who are treating with some men of knowlege and abilities. The chancellor Oxenstiern, ordered his son to prepare himself to go to Westphalia, where the troubles of the empire were to be pacified. *But*, said the young man, *I have not attended to any previous studies necessary for this important commission. I will prepare you for it*, replied the father. A fortnight after, Oxenstiern, who had not spoken upon the subject to his son, said to him, *My son, you must set out to-morrow.—But, sir, you had promised to instruct me and you have not done it. Go, nevertheless*, replied the experienced minister, shrugging up his shoulders, *and you will see by what kind of men the world is governed.* There are,

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perhaps, two or three wise and judicious councils in Europe. The rest are in the possession of intriguing men, raised to the management of affairs by the passions and shameful pleasures of a prince and his mistresses. A man is advanced to a share in the administration, without any knowledge of the subject; he adopts the first system that is offered to his caprice; pursues it without understanding it, and, with a degree of obstinacy proportionate to his ignorance, he changes the whole plan of his predecessors, in order to introduce his own system of administration, which he will never be able to support. Richelieu's first declaration, when he became minister, was, *the council hath altered it's plan*. This saying, which was once found to be a good one, in the mouth of one single man, has, perhaps, been repeated, or thought of, by every one of Richelieu's successors. All men engaged in public affairs have the vanity not only to proportion the parade of their expence, of their manner, and of their air, to the importance of their office; but even to raise the opinion they have of their own understanding, in proportion to the influence of their authority.

WHEN a nation is great and powerful, what should it's governors be? The court and the people will answer this question, but in a very different manner. The ministers see nothing in their office but the extent of their rights; the people the extent only of their duties. The ideas of the latter are just; for the duties and rights arising from each mode of government ought to be regulated

regulated by the wants and desires of each nation. But this principle of the law of nature is not applicable to the social state. As societies, whatever be their origin, are almost all of them subject to the authority of one single man, political measures are dependent on the character of the prince.

If the king be a weak and irresolute man, his government will change as his ministers, and his politics will vary with his government. He will alternately have ministers, that are ignorant or enlightened, steady or fickle, deceitful or sincere, harsh or humane, inclined to war or peace; such, in a word, as the variety of intrigues will produce them. Such a state will have no regular system of politics; and all other governments will not be able to maintain any permanent designs and measures with it. The system of politics must then vary with the day, or the moment; that is, with the humour of the prince. Under a weak and unsteady reign none but temporary interests ought to prevail, and connections subordinate to the instability of the ministry.

THE reciprocal jealousy prevailing between the depositaries of the royal authority is another cause of this instability. One man against the testimony of his conscience and of his knowledge, counteracts from a motive of mean jealousy a useful measure, the honour of which would belong to his rival. The next day the same infamous part is adopted by the latter. The sovereign alternately grants what he had refused, or refuses what he had granted. The negociator will easily perceive

ceive which of his ministers he has least consulted, but it is impossible for him to foresee what his last resolution will be. In this embarrassment to whom shall we have recourse? To bribery and to the women, if he be sent into a country governed by a man. To bribery and to the men, if he be sent into a country governed by a woman. He must lay aside the character of the ambassador or of the envoy, in order to assume that of the corrupter, the only one by which he can succeed. It is gold which he must substitute to the most profound policy. But if by some chance, of which perhaps there is scarce any example, gold should fail of it's effect, the only resource he has remaining is to solicit to be recalled.

BUT the fate of nations and political interests are very different in republican governments. As the authority there resides in the collective body of the people, there are certain principles and some public interests attended to in every negotiation. In this case the permanency of a system is not to be confined to the duration of the ministry, or to the life of one single man. The general spirit that exists and perpetuates itself in the nation, is the only rule of every negotiation. Not but that a powerful citizen, or an eloquent demagogue, may sometimes lead a popular government into a political mistake; but this is easily recovered. Faults, in these instances, may be considered equally with successes as lessons of instruction. Great events, and not men, produce remarkable periods in the history of republics.

lics. It is in vain to attempt to surprize a free people by artifice, or intrigues, into a treaty of peace or alliance. Their maxims will always make them return to their lasting interests, and all engagements will give way to the supreme law. In these governments, it is the safety of the people that does every thing, while in others it is the will of the ruler.

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THIS contrast of political principles has rendered every popular government suspicious or odious to all absolute monarchs. They have dreaded the influence of a republican spirit upon their own subjects, the weight of whose chains they are every day increasing. A kind of secret conspiracy may therefore be perceived between all monarchies, to destroy, or insensibly to sap, the foundations of all free states. But liberty will arise from the midst of oppression. It already exists in every breast; public writings will contribute to instil it into the minds of all enlightened men; and tyranny into the hearts of the people. All men will, at length, be sensible, and this period is at no great distance, that liberty is the first gift of heaven, as it is the first source of virtue. The instruments of despotism will become it's destroyers; and the enemies of humanity, those who seem armed at present merely to oppose it, will exert themselves in it's defence.

IN this place I was intending to speak of war, or that rage, which being kindled by injustice, ambition, and revenge, assembles, under two adverse commanders, a multitude of armed men, impels them against each other, drenches the earth

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earth with their blood, strews it with dead bodies, and prepares nourishment for the animals that come after them, but who are less ferocious than they.

BUT I have suddenly postponed my intention, by asking of myself what peace is, and whether it exists any where? Upon the spot where I now am, in the center of my own city, a multitude of interests opposite to mine confine me, and I repel them. If I pass the limits of that space which I call my own country, I am considered with an anxious eye; I am accosted, and asked, who I am, from whence I came, and where I am going? At length I obtain a bed, and am preparing to take some rest, when a sudden clamour compels me to depart. If I remain, I am proscribed; and the next day, the house which had given me refuge, shall be set on fire, and those who have treated me as a fellow-citizen, shall be murdered by assassins who speak my own language. Should curiosity, or a thirst of knowledge induce me to visit another country; if I take some pains to examine it, I am immediately suspected, and a spy is commissioned to watch me. Should I have the misfortune to worship God in my own way, which happens not to be that of the country I am visiting, I am surrounded by priests and executioners. I then make my escape, exclaiming, with grief: Peace, then, that blessing so earnestly wished for, exists not in any place.

THE good man, however, hath his dreams; and I will acknowledge, that being witness to

the progress of knowledge, which hath shaken so many prejudices, and introduced so much softness in our manners, I have thought that it was impossible the infernal art of war should be perpetuated, but that it would sink into oblivion. The people who have brought it to perfection will become accursed; and the moment when these formidable instruments of death shall be generally demolished, cannot be far distant. The universe will at length execrate those odious conquerors, who have rather chosen to be the terror of their neighbours, than the fathers of their subjects; and to invade provinces, rather than to gain the affections of men; who have chosen that the cries of grief should be the only hymn accompanying their victories; who have raised up melancholy monuments, destined to immortalize their rage and their vanity, in the countries which they had spoiled, in the cities they had reduced to ashes, and over the carcases which their swords had heaped on each other; conquerors, who have had no other wish, than that the history of their reign should contain only the remembrance of the calamities they had occasioned. Mankind will no longer be deceived respecting the objects of their admiration. They will no longer, with abject infatuation, prostrate themselves before those who trampled them under their feet. Calamities will be considered in their proper light; and the nocturnal labours, and talents of great artists, will no longer be prostituted to the commemoration of brilliant crimes. Princes themselves will partake of the wisdom

wisdom of their age. The voice of philosophy will revive in their minds sentiments which have long lain dormant, and will inspire them with horror, and a contempt for sanguinary glory. They will be confirmed in these ideas by the ministers of religion; who, availing themselves of the sacred privilege of their functions, will drag them before the tribunal of the Great Judge, where they will be obliged to answer for the thousands of unfortunate persons sacrificed to their hatred or caprice. If it were resolved in the decrees of Heaven, that sovereigns should persevere in their frenzy, those numberless hords of assassins who are kept in pay, would throw away their arms. Filled with a just horror for their detestable employment, and with profound indignation against the cruel abuse which was made of their strength, and of their courage, they would leave their extravagant despots to settle their quarrels themselves.

BUT this illusion did not last long. I was soon persuaded that the disputes between kings would never end, any more than their passions, and that they could only be decided by the sword. I thought that it would be impossible ever to disgust of the horrors of war, a people who, notwithstanding all sorts of cruelties and devastations were committed around them without scruple, and without remorse, upon the scene of discord, still found, while sitting quietly by their fire-side, that there were not sieges, battles, or catastrophes enough to satisfy their curiosity, and amuse their vacant hours. I thought, that there was nothing
either

either reasonable or humane to be expected from a set of subaltern butchers, who, far from giving themselves up to despair, from tearing their hair, from detesting themselves, and from shedding rivers of tears at the sight of a vast plain filled with scattered members, were, on the contrary, able to go over it with an air of triumph, bathing their feet in the blood of their friends and of their enemies, walking over their carcases, and mixing songs of mirth with the plaintive accents of expiring men. It seemed to me, as if I hear'd the speech of one of those tygers, who, blending flattery with ferociousness, said to a monarch, seized with a consternation at the sight of a field of battle covered with torn limbs and dead bodies, scarcely cold: *Sir, it is not us, but those, who are too happy*; and thus prevented the tears from falling from the eyes of a young prince; tears, which he ought rather to have prompted him to shed, by saying to him: “Behold, and
 “consider the effects of thy ambition, of thy
 “folly, of thy rage, and of our’s, and feel the
 “drops of blood trickling down thy cheeks,
 “which fall from the laurels with which we have
 “crowned thee.” These distressing reflections plunged me into melancholy; so that it was some time before I could resume the thread of my ideas, and go on with my subject.

WAR has existed at all times and in all countries; but the art of war is only to be found in certain ages of the world, and among certain people. The Greeks instituted it, and conquered all the powers of Asia. The Romans improved

it, and subdued the world. These two nations, worthy to command all others, as their genius and virtue were the causes of their prosperity, owed this superiority to their infantry, in which every single man exerts his whole strength. The Grecian phalanx and the Roman legions were every where victorious.

WHEN indolence had introduced a superior number of cavalry into the armies of the antients, Rome lost some of it's glory and success. Notwithstanding the exact discipline of it's troops, it could no longer resist those barbarous nations, that fought on foot.

THESE men, however, little better than savages, who, with arms only, and those powers nature had taught them the use of, had subdued the most extensive and the most civilized empire of the universe, soon changed their infantry into cavalry. This was properly called the line of battle, or the army. All the nobility, who were the sole possessors of lands and of privileges, those usual attendants of victory, chose to ride on horseback; while the enslaved multitude were left on foot; almost without arms, and were scarce holden in any degree of estimation.

IN times when the gentleman was distinguished by his horse; when the man himself was of little consequence, and every idea of importance was attached to the knight; when wars consisted in small incursions, and campaigns lasted but a day; when success depended upon the quickness of marches; then the fate of armies was determined by cavalry. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

centuries, there were scarce any other troops in Europe. The dexterity and strength of men was no longer shew'd in wrestling, at the cestus, in the exercise of arms, and of all the muscles of the body; but in tournaments, in managing a horse; and in throwing the lance at full speed. This species of war, better calculated for wandering Tartars, than for fixed and sedentary societies, was one of the defects of the feudal government. A race of conquerors, whose rights were to be determined by their swords; whose merit and glory was in their arms; whose sole occupation was hunting, could scarce avoid riding on horseback; with all that parade and spirit of authority which must necessarily arise from a rude and uncultivated understanding. But what could troops of heavy-armed cavalry avail in the attack and defence of castles and towns, fortified by walls or by surrounding waters?

To this imperfection of the military art, must be ascribed the duration of war for several ages; without intermission, between France and England. War continued incessantly for want of a sufficient number of men. Whole months were required to collect, to arm, to bring into the field troops that were only to continue there a few weeks. Kings could not assemble more than a certain number of vassals; and those at stated times. The lords had only a right to call under their banners some of their tenants, upon stipulated terms. The time that ought to have been employed in carrying on war, was lost in forms and regulations, in the same manner as courts of

justice consume those estates they are to determine. At length the French, tired with being constantly obliged to repulse the English, like the horse that implored the assistance of man against the stag, suffered the yoke and burthen to be imposed upon them, which they bear to this day. Kings raised and maintained at their own expence a constant body of troops. Charles VII. after having expelled the English by the assistance of mercenary troops, when he disbanded his army, kept nine thousand horse, and sixteen thousand infantry.

THIS was the origin of the abasement of the nobility, and the elevation of monarchy; of the political liberty of the nation without, and it's civil slavery within. The people were delivered from feudal tyranny, only to fall, some time or other, under the despotism of kings. So much does human nature seem born for slavery! It became necessary to raise a fund for the payment of an army; and the taxes were arbitrary, and unlimited as the number of soldiers, who were distributed in the different parts of the kingdom, under a pretence of guarding the frontiers against the enemy; but in reality to restrain and oppress the subject. The officers, commanders, and governors, were tools of government always armed against the nation itself. They, as well as their soldiers, no longer considered themselves as citizens of the state, solely devoted to the defence of the property and rights of the people. They acknowledged no longer any person in the kingdom, except the king, in whose name they were
ready

ready to massacre their fathers and brothers. In short, the body of troops raised by the nation was nothing more than a royal army. BOOK
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THE discovery of gunpowder, which required considerable expence and great preparation, forges, magazines, and arsenals, made arms more than ever dependent on kings, and determined the advantage that infantry hath over cavalry. The latter presented the flank of the man and horse to the former. A horseman dismounted, was either lost or good for nothing; and a horse without a leader, occasioned confusion and disorder among the ranks. The havoc which the artillery and fire-arms made in squadrons, was more difficult to repair than it was in battalions. In a word, men could be bought and disciplined at a less expence than horses; and this made it easy for kings to procure soldiers.

THUS the innovation of Charles VII. fatal to his subjects, at least in futurity, became from his example prejudicial to the liberty of all the people of Europe. Every nation was obliged to keep itself upon the defence against a nation always in arms. The right system of politics, if there were any politics at a time when arts, literature, and commerce, had not yet opened a communication among people, should have been, for the princes to have jointly attacked that particular power that had put itself into a state of continual war. But instead of compelling it to submit to peace, they took up arms themselves. This contagion spread itself the quicker, as it appeared the sole remedy

against the danger of an invasion, the only guarantee of the security of the nations.

THERE was however a general want of the knowlege necessary to discipline a body of infantry, the importance of which began to be perceived. The manner of fighting which the Switzers had employed against the Burgundians, had rendered them as celebrated as formidable. With heavy swords and long halberds, they had always overcome the horses and men of the feudal army. As their ranks were impenetrable, and as they marched in close columns, they overthrew all that attacked, and all that opposed them. Every power was then desirous of procuring some Swiss foldiers. But, the Switzers, sensible of the need there was of their assistance, and setting the purchase of it at too high a rate, it became necessary to resolve not to employ them, and to form in all parts a national infantry, in order not to depend upon these auxiliary troops.

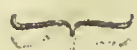
THE Germans first adopted a discipline that required only strength of body, and subordination. As their country abounded in men and horses, they almost rivalled the reputation of the Swiss infantry, without losing the advantage of their own cavalry.

THE French, more lively, adopted, with greater difficulty, and more slowly, a kind of military system that laid a restraint upon all their motions, and seemed rather to require perseverance than impetuosity. But the taste for imitation and novelty prevailed among this light people, over that vanity which is fond of it's own customs.

THE Spaniards, notwithstanding the pride they have been reproached with, improved the military art of the Switzers, by bringing to greater perfection the discipline of that warlike people. They formed an infantry which became alternately the terror and admiration of Europe.

IN proportion as the infantry increased, the custom and service of the feudal militia ceased in all parts, and war became more general. The constitution of each nation had for ages past scarce allowed the different people to wage war and massacre one another beyond the barriers of their own states. War was carried on upon the frontiers only between the neighbouring powers. When France and Spain had carried their arms to the most remote extremities of Italy, it was no longer possible to call together the ban and arriere ban of the nations; because it was not in fact the people who made war against each other, but the kings with their troops, for the honour of themselves or their families, without any regard to the good of their subjects. Not that the princes did not endeavour to interest the national pride of the people in their quarrels; but this was done merely to weaken, or totally to subdue that spirit of independence, which was still struggling among some sets of men, against that absolute authority which the princes had gradually assumed.

ALL Europe was in commotion. The Germans marched into Italy; the Italians into Germany; the French into both these countries. The Turks besieged Naples and Nice; and the Spaniards were at the same time dispersed in Africa, in



Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in the Low Countries. All these people, inured and practised in arms, acquired great skill in the art of fighting and destroying each other with infallible regularity and precision.

It was religion that caused the Germans to contend with the Germans; the French with the French; but which more particularly excited Flanders against Spain. It was on the fens of Holland that all the rage of a bigoted and despotic king fell; of a superstitious and sanguinary prince; of the two Philips, and of the duke of Alva. It was in the Low Countries that a republic arose from the persecution of tyranny, and the flames of the inquisition. When freedom had broken her chains, and found an asylum in the ocean, she raised her bulwarks upon the continent. The Dutch first invented the art of fortifying places: so much doth genius and invention belong to free minds. Their example was generally followed. Extensive states had only occasion to fortify their frontiers. Germany and Italy, divided among a number of princes, were crowded with strong citadels from one end to the other. When we travel through these countries, we meet every evening with gates shut and drawbridges at the entrance of the towns.

WHILE Nassau, who had taken up arms to secure the independence of his country, was renewing the science of fortification, the passion for glory stimulated Gustavus Adolphus to investigate, according to the maxims of the ancients, the principles of the military science of the field,
which

which were almost entirely lost. He had the honour to discover, to apply, and to diffuse them; but if the most experienced judges may be credited, he did not introduce into those principles the modifications which the difference of men's minds, of constitutions, and of arms, would have required. The persons trained up under him, great captains as they were, could not venture to be more bold or more enlightened than himself; and this timid circumspection prevented the alterations and improvements which might have been made. Cohorn and Vauban alone instructed Europe in the art of defending, but especially in that of attacking places. It happened, by one of those contradictions which are sometimes observed among nations, as well as among individuals, that the French, notwithstanding their ardent and impetuous disposition, appeared more expert in sieges than any other nation; and that they seemed to acquire at the foot of the walls that patience and coolness, in which they are most commonly deficient in all other military operations.

THE King of Prussia appeared, and with him a new order of things was introduced. Without suffering himself to be swayed by the authority of those who had gone before him, this prince created a system of tactics almost entirely new. He demonstrated, that troops, however numerous, might be disciplined and manœuvred; that the motions of the greatest armies were not subject to calculations, more complicated, and less certain than those of the most feeble corps;

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and that the same springs by which one battalion was put in motion, when properly managed, and put together by a great commander, might set a hundred thousand men in motion. His genius suggested to him many scientific details, of which no man had previously entertained the least idea; and by giving, in a manner, the advantage to the legs over the arms, he introduced into his evolutions, and into his marches, a celerity, which is become necessary, and almost decisive, since armies have been unfortunately so much multiplied, and since they have been obliged to occupy a very extensive front.

THIS prince, who, since Alexander, hath not had his equal in history, for extent and variety of talents; who, without having been himself formed by Greeks, hath been able to form Lacedemonians; this monarch, in a word, who hath deserved beyond all others that his name should be recorded in his age, and who will have the glory, since it is one, of having carried the art of war to a degree of perfection, from which, fortunately, it cannot but degenerate; Frederic hath seen all Europe adopt his institutions with enthusiasm. In imitation of the Roman people, who, by instructing themselves at the school of their enemies, learnt the art of resisting, of vanquishing, and of enslaving them, the modern nations have endeavoured to follow the example of a neighbour, formidable by his military capacity, and who might become dangerous by his success. But have they accomplished their design? Some external

external parts of his discipline have undoubtedly been imitated; but let us be allowed to doubt, whether his great principles have been perfectly understood, thoroughly investigated, and properly combined.

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BUT even if this sublime and terrible doctrine were become common among the powers, would it be equally useful to them all? The Prussians never lose sight of it one moment. They are ignorant of the intrigues of courts, the luxuries of cities, and the idleness of a country life. Their colours are their roofs; warlike songs their amusements; the recital of their first exploits their conversation; and fresh laurels their only hope. Eternally under arms, eternally in exercise, they have perpetually before them the image, and almost the reality, of a prudent and obstinate war, whether they be collected together in camps, or dispersed in garrisons.

MILITARY men of all countries draw the contrast between this description, and that of your education, of your laws, and of your manners; and compare yourselves to such men, if you can. I will allow that the sound of the trumpet may rouse you from your lethargy; from balls, from public amusements; and that, from the arms of your mistresses, you may rush with eagerness into danger. But will a transient ardour supply the place of that vigilance, of that activity, of that application, and of that foresight, which can alone determine the operations of a war, or of a campaign? Will a body, enervated by effeminate habits, resist the horrors of famine, the rigour of seasons,

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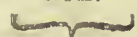
seasons, and the diversity of climates? Will a mind, ruled by the taste for pleasure, bend itself to regular, profound, and serious reflections? In a heart replete with various and frivolous objects, will not one of them be found which may be incompatible with courage? On the borders of the Po, of the Rhine, and of the Danube, in the midst of those destructions and ravages which always attend upon his steps, will not the Frenchman, covered with dust, his strength exhausted, and destitute of every thing, turn his sorrowful eyes towards the smiling borders of the Loire or of the Seine? Will he not sigh after those ingenious diversions, those tender connections, those charming societies; and after those voluptuous delights of every kind which he hath left there, and which await him at his return? Imbued with the absurd and unfortunate prejudice, that war, which is a profession for other nations, is only a rank or condition of life to him, will he not quit the camp as soon as he shall think he can do it without exposing his reputation too openly? If example, or circumstances, do not allow him to follow his inclination, will he not exhaust in a few months the income of ten years, to change a foraging party into a party of pleasure, or to display his luxury at the head of the trenches? The dislike of his duties, and his indifference for public affairs, will they not expose him to the ridicule of an enemy, who may have different principles, and a different rule of conduct?

It is not to the King of Prussia, but to Lewis XIV. that we must attribute that prodigious number

number of troops, which presents us with the idea of war, even in the midst of peace. By keeping always numerous armies on foot, that proud monarch obliged his neighbours, or his enemies, to exert efforts nearly similar. The contagion spread itself even among the princes who were too weak to raise disturbances, and too poor to keep them up. They sold the blood of their legions to the greater powers, and the number of soldiers was gradually raised in Europe to two millions.

THE barbarous ages are spoken of with horror; and yet war was then only a period of violence and of commotions, but at present it is almost a natural state. Most governments are either military, or become so; even the improvement in our discipline is a proof of it. The security we enjoy in our fields, the tranquillity that prevails in our cities, whether troops are passing through, or are quartered in them; the police which reigns around the camps, and in garrisoned towns, proclaim indeed that arms are under some kind of controul, but at the same time indicate that every thing is subject to their power.


FORTUNATELY, the hostilities of our days do not resemble those of former times. At those distant periods, the conquered provinces were laid waste; the towns subdued were reduced to ashes; the vanquished citizens were either put to death, or reduced to servitude. At present, war is much less cruel. When the battle is at an end, no more atrocious acts are committed; the prisoners are taken care of; the cities are no more destroyed,

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destroyed, nor the countries ravaged. The contributions exacted from a subdued people scarce amount to as much as they paid for taxes before their misfortunes; and when they are restored by peace to their former masters, no alteration appears in their situation. When treaties insure their submission to the conqueror, they enjoy the same advantages as all the other subjects, and sometimes even several very important prerogatives. Accordingly, the nations, even those which are the least enlightened, shew very little concern for these dissensions between princes; they consider those quarrels as disputes between one government and another; and they would behold these events with total indifference, were they not obliged to pay the mercenaries employed to support the ambition, the turbulence, or the caprices of a tyrannical master.

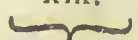
THESE mercenaries are very ill paid. They cost the nation four or five times less than the meanest mechanic. They receive no more than what is absolutely necessary to keep them from starving. Notwithstanding this, the troops, the generals, the fortified places, the artillery, and the instruments of war, have been multiplied to such a degree, that the maintenance of them hath driven the people to despair. In order to provide for these expences, it hath been necessary to overburthen all the classes of society, which pressing one upon another, must crush the lowest and the most useful of them, that of the husbandman. The increase of taxes, and the difficulty of collecting them, destroy, through want or distress, those

those very families which are the parents and nurseries of the armies.

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If an universal oppression be the first inconvenience arising from the increase of soldiers, their idleness is a second. Let them be incessantly employed, but not to excess, as soon as the din of war shall no longer be hear'd, and their morals will be less dissolute, less contagious; the strength necessary to bear the fatigues of their profession will always be preserved, and their health will seldom be affected; they will no more be consumed by hunger, tedium, or affliction; desertions and quarrels will no more be common among them, and they may still be useful to society after the time of their service shall be expired. For a moderate increase of their pay, they will cheerfully make the roads over which they are to march; they will level the mountains they are to climb up; they will fortify the towns they are to defend; they will dig the canals from whence they are to derive their subsistence; they will improve the ports in which they are to embark; they will deliver the people from the most cruel and the most ignominious of all vexations, the labours of vassalage. After having expiated, by useful labours, the misfortune of being devoted, by their condition, to desolate the earth, and to massacre the inhabitants, they will perhaps cease to be detested; they will perhaps one day attain the honour of being considered in the light of citizens.

THE Romans were acquainted with these truths, and had made them the basis of their conduct. How is it come to pass that we, who were formerly the slaves, and who are become at present



present the disciples of these masters of the world; have deviated so much from this important object of their principles? It is because Europe hath believed, and doth still believe, that men who are destined to handle arms, and to gather laurels, would be degraded by using instruments which are only in the hands of the lowest class of the people. How long will this absurd prejudice, formed in barbarous times, subsist? How long shall we still remain in the twelfth century?

A THIRD inconvenience arising from the increase of soldiers, is a decrease of courage. Few men are born fit for war. If we except Lacedæmon and Rome, where women who were citizens, and free, brought forth soldiers; where children were lulled to sleep by, and awakened with the sound of trumpets and songs of war; where education rendered men unnatural, and made them beings of a different species: all other nations have only had a few brave men among them. And, indeed, the less troops are raised, the better will they be. In the earlier ages of our ancestors, who were less civilized, but stronger than we are, armies were much less numerous than our's, but engagements were more decisive. It was necessary to be a noble or a rich man to serve in the army, which was looked upon both as an honour and a privilege. None but volunteers entered into the service. All their engagements ended with the campaign; and any man who disliked the art of war was at liberty to withdraw. Besides, there was then more of that ardour, and of that pride of sentiment, which constitutes true courage. At

present, what glory is there in serving under absolute commanders, who judge of men by their size, estimate them by their pay, enlist them by force or by stratagem, and keep or discharge them without their consent, as they have taken them? What honour is there in aspiring to the command of armies under the baneful influence of courts, where every thing is given or taken away without reason; where men without merit are raised, and others, though innocent, are degraded by mere caprice; where the department of war is intrusted to a favourite, who hath not distinguished himself upon any occasion, and to whom the art of war is unknow'n both in theory and practice; where a favourite mistress marks with patches, upon a map spread out upon her toilet, the route which the army is to take; or where it is necessary to send to solicit permission at court, before a battle can be given; a fatal delay, during which time the enemy may have changed his position, and the moment of victory be lost; where a general, without the consent of the prince, hath sometimes been commanded, under pain of disgrace, to suffer himself to be beaten; where jealousy, hatred, and a variety of other motives equally detestable, frustrate the hopes of a fortunate campaign; where, either through negligence or inability, camps are suffered to want provisions, forage, or ammunition; where the person who is to obey, to march, or to stop, to execute the motions concerted, betrays his commander, and sets discipline at defiance, without endangering his life? Accordingly, except in rising empires, or in the instant of a crisis,

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the greater number there are of soldiers in the state, the more is the nation weakened; and in proportion as a state is enfeebled; the number of it's soldiers is increased.

A FOURTH inconvenience is, that the increase of soldiers tends to despotism. A number of troops, towns well fortified, magazines and arsenals, may prevent invasions; but while they preserve a people from the irruptions of a conqueror, they do not secure them from the incroachments of a despotic prince. Such a number of soldiers serve only to keep those, who are already slaves, in chains. The tyrant then prevails, and makes every thing conform to his will, as every thing is subservient to his power. By the force of arms alone, he sets the opinions of men at defiance, and controuls their will. By the assistance of soldiers he levies taxes; and by these he raises soldiers. He imagines that his authority is shew'n and exercised, by destroying what he hath formed; but his exertions are vain and fruitless. He is perpetually renewing his forces, without being ever able to recover the national strength. In vain do his soldiers keep his people in continual war; if his subjects tremble at his troops, his troops in return will fly from the enemy. But in these circumstances, the loss of a battle is that of a kingdom. The minds of all men being alienated, they voluntarily submit to a foreign yoke; because, under the dominion of a conqueror, hope is still left; while, under that of a despot, nothing remains but fear. When the progress of the military government hath introduced despotism, then the nation exists no more. The soldiery

soon becomes insolent and detested. Barrenness, occasioned by wretchedness and debauchery, is the cause of the extinction of families. A spirit of discord and hatred prevails among all orders of men, who are either corrupted or disgraced. Societies betray, sell, and plunder each other, and give themselves up, one after another, to the scourges of the tyrant, who plunders, oppresses, destroys, and annihilates them all. Such is the end of that art of war, which paves the way for a military government. Let us now consider what influence the navy has.

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THE ancients have transmitted to us almost all those arts that have been revived with the restoration of letters; but we have surpassed them in the military management of the navy. Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Rome, scarce knew any sea but the Mediterranean; to sail through which it was only necessary to have rafts, gallies, and men to row them. Sea engagements might then be bloody; but it required no great skill to construct and equip the fleets. To pass from Europe into Africa, it was only necessary to be supplied with boats, which may be called flat bottom ones, which transmitted Carthaginians or Romans; the only people almost who were engaged in sea-fights. Commerce was, fortunately, a greater object of attention to the Athenians, and the republics of Asia, than victories at sea.

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AFTER these famous nations had abandoned both the land and the sea to plunderers and to pirates, the navy remained, during twelve centuries, equally neglected with all the other arts.

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Those swarms of barbarians, who over-ran and totally destroyed Rome in it's declining state, came from the Baltic upon rafts or canoes, to ravage and plunder our sea-coasts, without going far from the continent. These were not voyages, but descents upon the coasts, that were continually renewed. The Danes and Normans were not armed for a cruize, and scarce knew how to fight but upon land.

At length, chance or the Chinese supplied the Europeans with the compass, and this was the cause of the discovery of America. The needle, which taught sailors to know how far they were distant from the north, or how near they approached to it, emboldened them to attempt longer voyages, and to lose sight of land for whole months together. Geometry and astronomy taught them how to compute the progress of the constellations, to determine the longitude by them, and to judge pretty nearly how far they were advancing to the east and west. Even at that time, the height and the distance of vessels from the coast might always have been know'n. Though the knowlege of the longitude be much more inaccurate than that of the latitude, yet they both soon occasioned such improvement to be made in navigation, as to give rise to the art of carrying on war by sea. The first essay, however, of this art was made between gallies that were in possession of the Mediterranean. The most celebrated engagement of the modern navy was that of Lepanto, which was fought two centuries ago, between two hundred and five Christian, and two hundred

hundred and sixty Turkish gallies. This prodigious armament was entirely constructed in Italy; a country from which almost every invention of art has been derived, though not preserved in it. But at that time, it's trade, it's population, were double what they are at present. Besides, those gallies were neither so long nor so large as those of our times, as we may judge from some of the old carcases that are still preserved in the arsenal of Venice. The number of rowers amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the troops did not exceed fourscore men in one galley. At present, Venice hath more beautiful gallies, and less influence, upon that sea which the doge marries, and which other powers frequent and trade upon.

GALLIES, indeed, were proper for criminals; but stronger vessels were required for soldiers. The art of constructing ships improved with that of navigation. Philip II., king of all Spain, and of the East and West Indies, employed all the docks of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Sicily, which he then possessed, in constructing ships of an extraordinary size and strength; and his fleet assumed the title of the Invincible Armada. It consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, near one hundred of which were the largest that had yet been seen on the ocean. Twenty small ships followed this fleet, and sailed or fought under it's protection. The pride of the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, hath dwelt very much upon, and exaggerated the pompous description of this formidable armament. But a circumstance which

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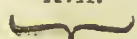
diffused terror and admiration two centuries ago, would now serve only to excite laughter. The largest of those ships would be no more than a third-rate in our squadrons. They were so heavily armed, and so ill managed, that they could scarce move, or sail near the wind, nor board another vessel, nor could the ship be properly worked in tempestuous weather. The sailors were as awkward as the ships were heavy, and the pilots almost as ignorant as the sailors.

THE English, who were already acquainted with the weakness and little skill of their enemies at sea, concluded that inexperience would occasion their defeat. They carefully avoided boarding these unwieldy machines, and burned a part of them. Some of these enormous galleons were taken, others disabled. A storm arose, in which most of the ships lost their anchors, and were abandoned by their crews to the fury of the waves, and cast away, some upon the western coasts of Scotland, others upon the coasts of Ireland. Scarce one half of this invincible fleet was able to return to Spain, where the damages it had suffered, joined to the terror of the sailors, spread a general consternation, from which Spain has never recovered. The Spaniards were for ever depressed by the loss of an armament that had cost three years preparation, and upon which all the forces and revenues of the kingdom had been almost exhausted.

THE destruction of the Spanish navy occasioned the dominion of the sea to pass into the hands of the Dutch. The pride of their former tyrants could

could not be more signally punished than by the prosperity of a people, forced by oppression to break the yoke of regal authority. When this republic began to emerge from it's fens, the rest of Europe was embroiled in civil wars by the spirit of fanaticism. Persecution drove men into Holland from all other states. The inquisition which the house of Austria wished to extend over all parts of it's dominions; the persecution which Henry II. raised in France; the emissaries of Rome, who were supported in England by Mary; every thing, in a word, concurred to people Holland with an immense number of refugees. This country had neither lands nor harvest for their subsistence. They were obliged to seek it by sea throughout the whole universe. Almost all the commerce of Europe was engrossed by Lisbon, Cadiz, and Antwerp, under one sovereign, whose power and ambition rendered him a general object of hatred and envy. The new republicans having escaped his tyranny, and being excited by resentment and necessity, became pirates, and formed a navy at the expence of the Spaniards and Portuguese, whom they held in utter aversion. France and England, who, in the progress of this rising republic, only perceived the humiliation of the house of Austria, assisted Holland in preserving the conquest and spoils she had made, the value of which she was yet unacquainted with. Thus the Dutch secured to themselves establishments wherever they chose to direct their forces; fixed themselves in these acquisitions before the jealousy of other nations

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could be excited, and imperceptibly made themselves masters of all commerce by their industry, and of all the seas by the strength of their squadrons.

THE domestic troubles in England were for a while favourable to this prosperity, which had been so silently acquired in remote countries. But at length Cromwell excited in his country an emulation for commerce, so natural to the inhabitants of an island. To share the empire of the seas with the English was, in fact, to give it up to them; and the Dutch were determined to maintain it. Instead of forming an alliance with England, they courageously resolved upon war. They carried it on for a long time with unequal force; and this perseverance against misfortune, preserved to them, at least, an honourable rivalship. Superiority in the construction and form of the ships often gave the victory to their enemies; but the vanquished never met with any decisive losses.

In the mean while, these long and dreadful combats had exhausted, or at least diminished the strength of the two nations, when Lewis XIV., willing to avail himself of their mutual weakness, aspired to the empire of the sea. When this prince first assumed the reins of government, he found only eight or nine vessels in his harbours, and those very much decayed; neither were they ships of the first or second rate. Richelieu had perceived the necessity of raising a pier before Rochelle, but not of forming a navy; the idea of which must, however, have been conceived by Henry IV. and his friend Sully. But it was reserved

served to the most brilliant age of the French nation to give birth to every improvement at once. Lewis, who conceived, at least, all the ideas of grandeur he did not himself suggest, inspired his subjects with the same passion which prevailed in him. Five ports were opened to the military navy. Docks and arsenals equally convenient and magnificent were constructed. The art of ship-building, still very imperfect every where, was established upon more certain principles. A set of naval regulations much superior to those of the other nations, and which they have since adopted, obtained the sanction of the laws. Seamen emerged from the midst of the ocean, as it were, already formed. In less than twenty years the harbours of the kingdom reckoned one hundred ships of the line.

THE French navy first exerted its power against the people of Barbary, who were beaten. It afterwards obtained some advantages over the Spaniards. It then engaged the fleets of England and Holland, sometimes separately, and sometimes combined, and generally obtained the honour and advantage of the victory. The first memorable defeat the French navy experienced, was in 1692, when with forty ships they attacked 90 English and Dutch ships opposite La Hogue, in order to give the English a king they rejected, and who was not himself very desirous of the title. The most numerous fleet obtained the victory. James the Second felt an involuntary pleasure at the triumph of the people who expelled him; as if at this instant the blind love

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of his country had prevailed within him, over his ambition for the throne. Since that day the naval powers of France have been upon the decline, and it was impossible that they should not be.

LEWIS XIV. accustomed to carry on his enterprises with more haughtiness than method, more ambitious of appearing powerful than of being really so, had begun by completing the higher parts of his military navy before he had settled it's foundation. The only solid basis which could have been given to it would have been an extensive commercial navy, carried on with activity; and there was not even the shadow of such a thing existing in the kingdom. The trade with the East Indies was still in it's infancy. The Dutch had appropriated to themselves the small quantity of commodities which the American Islands then produced. The French had not yet thought of giving to the great fisheries that degree of extension of which they were susceptible. There were no French vessels admitted in the northern harbours, and the southern very seldom saw any. The State had even given up it's coasting trade to foreigners. Was it not therefore unavoidable that this colossus should be overturned, and the illusion dissipated upon the first remarkable check which this proud display of power should receive?

FROM that period England acquired a superiority, which hath raised her to the greatest prosperity. A people, who are at present the most considerable power at sea, easily persuade themselves that they have always holden that empire.

Sometimes

Sometimes they trace their maritime power to the æra of Julius Cæsar, sometimes they assert that they have ruled over the ocean, at least, since the ninth century. Perhaps, some day or other, the Corsicans, who are at present a nation of little consequence, when they are become a maritime people, will record in their annals that they have always ruled over the Mediterranean. Such is the vanity of man, which must endeavour to aggrandize itself in past as well as future ages. Truth alone, which exists before all nations, and survives them all, informs us, that there hath been no navy in Europe from the christian æra till the 16th century. The English themselves had no need of it, while they remained in possession of Normandy and of the coasts of France.

WHEN Henry VIII. was desirous of equipping a fleet, he was obliged to hire vessels from Ham-
burgh, Lubeck, and Dantzic; but especially from Genoa and Venice, in which states it was only know'n how to build and conduct a fleet; which supplied sailors and admirals; and which gave to Europe a Columbus, an Americus, a Cabot, and a Verezani, those wonderful men who by their discoveries have added so much to the extent of the globe. Elizabeth was in want of a naval force against Spain, and permitted her subjects to fit out ships to act against the enemies of the state. This permission formed sailors for the service. The queen herself went to see a ship that had been round the world; on board of which she embraced Drake, at the time she knighted him. She left forty-two men of war to her successors.

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cessors. James and Charles the first added some ships to the naval forces they had received from the throne; but the commanders of this navy were chosen from the nobility, who, satisfied with this mark of distinction, left the labours to the pilots; so that the art of navigation received no improvements.

THERE were few noblemen in the party that dethroned the Stuarts. Ships of the line were at that time given to captains of inferior birth, but of uncommon skill in navigation. They improved, and rendered the English navy illustrious.

WHEN Charles II. reascended the throne, the kingdom was possessed of six and fifty ships. The navy increased under his reign, to the number of eighty-three, fifty-eight of which were ships of the line. Nevertheless, towards the latter days of this prince, it began to decline again. But his brother, James II., restored it to it's former lustre, and raised it even to a greater degree of splendour. Being himself high-admiral before he came to the throne, he had invented the art of regulating the manœuvres of the fleet, by the signals of the flag. Happy, if he had better understood the art of governing a free people! When the prince of Orange, his son-in-law, became possessed of his crown, the English navy consisted of one hundred and sixty-three vessels of all sizes, armed with seven thousand pieces of cannon, and equipped with forty-two thousand men. This force was doubled during the war that was carried on for the Spanish succession. It hath since
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so considerably increased, that the English think they are able alone to balance, by their maritime forces, the navy of the whole universe. England is now at sea, what Rome formerly was upon land, when she began to decline.

THE English nation considers it's navy as the bulwark of it's safety, and the source of it's riches. On this they found all their hopes in times of peace as well as war. They therefore raise a fleet more willingly, and with greater expedition than a battalion. They spare no expence, and exert every political art to acquire seamen.

THE foundations of this power were laid in the middle of the last century by the famous act of navigation, which secured to the English all the productions of their vast empire, and which promised them a great share in those of other regions. This law seemed to advise all people to think only of themselves. This lesson however hath been of no use hitherto, and no government hath made it the rule of their conduct. It is possible that the eyes of men may soon be opened, but Great Britain will however have enjoyed, during the space of more than a century, the fruits of it's foresight; and will perhaps have acquired, during that long interval, sufficient strength to perpetuate her advantages. It may readily be supposed that she is inclined to employ all possible means to prevent the explosion of that mine, which time is gradually and slowly digging under the foundation of her fortune, and to declare war against the first people who shall attempt

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tempt to blow it up. Her formidable fleets impatiently expect the signal of hostilities. Their activity and their vigilance is redoubled, since it hath been decided, that the prizes were to belong entirely to the officers and the crews of the victorious ship, since the state hath granted a gratuity of one hundred and thirty-two livres ten sols *, to every person who should board, take, or sink, any of the enemies ships. This allurement of gain will be increased if it be necessary by other rewards. Will the nations which are so habitually divided by their interests and by their jealousies, consent together to suppress this boldness, and if one of them should undertake it separately, will it succeed in this terrible conflict?

THE navy is a new species of power, which hath given the universe in some measure to Europe. This part of the globe, though so limited, hath acquired by it's squadrons an absolute empire over the rest, which are much more extensive. It hath seized upon those regions that were suitable to it, and hath placed under it's dependance the inhabitants and productions of all countries. A superiority so advantageous will last for ever, unless some event, which it is impossible to foresee, should disgust our descendants of an element in which shipwrecks are so frequent. As long as they shall have any fleets remaining they will pave the way for revolutions, they will draw along with them the destinies of nations, and they will be the levers of the world.

BUT it is not only to the extremities of the world or in barbarous regions that ships have carried terror and dictated laws. Their influence hath been sensibly felt even in the midst of ourselves, and hath disturbed the antient systems of things. A new kind of equilibrium hath been formed, and the balance of power hath been transferred from the continent to the maritime nations. In proportion as the nature of their forces brought them nearer to all countries bordering upon the ocean and it's several gulphs, so they have had it in their power to do good or mischief to the greater number of states; consequently they must have had more allies, more consideration, and more influence. These advantages have been evident to the governments, which by their situation were at hand to share them; and there is scarce any one which hath not exerted greater or less efforts to succeed in it.

SINCE nature hath decided that men must be in perpetual agitation upon our planet, and that they should continually disturb it with their inquietude; it is a fortunate circumstance for modern times, that the forces of the sea should make a diversion from those of the land. A power which hath coasts to protect will not easily incroach upon the territories of it's neighbours. It would require immense preparations, innumerable troops, arsenals of all kinds, and a double supply of means and of resources to execute it's project of conquest. Since Europe hath employed it's forces on the sea, it enjoys greater security than before. It's wars are perhaps as frequent and as

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bloody,

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bloody, but it is less ravaged and less weakened by them. The operations are carried on with greater harmony and with more regular plans, and there are less of those great effects which derange all systems. There are greater efforts and less shocks. All the passions are turned towards one certain general good, one grand political aim, towards a happy employment of all the natural and moral powers, which is commerce.

THE importance to which the navy has arisen, will lead, in process of time, every thing which has a greater or less distant affinity to it, to the degree of perfection it is susceptible of: till the middle of the last century an uncertain routine was followed in the construction of ships. *One knows not what the sea requires*, was still a common proverb. At this period geometry carried it's attention to this art, which was becoming every day more interesting, and applied to it some of it's principles. Since that, it's attention has been more seriously engaged, and always with success. Matters, however, are still far from being brought to demonstration, for there is still great variety in the dimensions adopted in the different docks.

IN proportion as the navy became a science, it became a necessary object of study to those who engaged in this profession. They were made to understand, though very slowly, that those commanders who had general ideas, founded upon mathematical rules, would have a great superiority over officers, who having nothing but habit to lead them, could only judge of the things they

had

had to do from their analogy to those which they had already seen. Schools were opened on all sides, where young men were instructed in naval tactics, and in other knowledge of equal importance.

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THIS was something, but it was not all. In a profession where the disposition of the sea and of the currents, the motion of the ships, the strength and variety of the winds, the frequent accidents from fire, the ordinary breaking of the sails and ropes, and many other circumstances, infinitely multiply the plans, where, in the midst of the noise of cannon, and of the greatest dangers, one must instantly take a resolution, which shall determine at once either victory or defeat; where the evolutions must be so rapid, that they seem rather to be the effect of sentiment than the result of reflection: in such a profession, the most learned theory cannot be sufficient. Deprived of that certain and speedy effect of sight, which practice, and that the most constant, can only give, it would lose in reflection the time for action. Experience must therefore complete the seaman, whose education hath been begun by the study of the exact sciences. In process of time, this union of theory with practice, must prevail in every place where there are navigators, but no where more speedily than in an island, because arts are sooner brought to perfection, wherever they are of indispensable necessity.

FOR the same reason, in an island there will be better sailors, and more of them; but, will they be treated with that justice and humanity which

is due to them? Let us suppose that one of them, who hath fortunately escaped from the devouring heats of the line, from the horror of storms, and from the intemperature of climates, returns from a voyage of several years, and from the extremities of the globe. His wife expects him with impatience; his children are anxious to see a father whose name hath been repeated to them a multitude of times; he himself sooths his anxiety, by the pleasing hope that he shall soon see again what is most dear to him in the world; and anticipates by his wishes, the delightful moment when his heart will be comforted in the tender embraces of his family. All at once, at the approach of the shore, within sight of his country, he is forcibly taken out of the ship, in which he had braved the fury of the waves in order to enrich his fellow-citizens, and is put, by a set of infamous satellites, on board of a fleet, where thirty or forty thousand of his brave companions are to share his misfortunes, till the end of hostilities. In vain do their tears flow, in vain do they appeal to the laws; their destiny is irrevocably fixed. This is a feeble image of the atrociousness of the English mode of pressing.

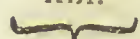
IN our absolute governments another mode is adopted; perhaps, in fact, as cruel, though apparently more moderate. The sailor is there enlisted, and for life. He is employed or disbanded at pleasure; his pay is regulated by caprice, which also fixes the period when he shall receive it. Both in time of peace, as in time of war, he hath never any will of his own, but is
always

always under the rod of a subaltern despot, most commonly unjust, cruel, and interested. The greatest difference I can observe between these two modes is, that the former is only a temporary servitude, the latter is a slavery which hath no end.

NEVERTHELESS, we shall find some apologists, and perhaps some admirers of these inhuman customs. It will be said, that in a state of society, the wills of individuals must always be subject to the general will; and that their convenience must always be sacrificed to the public good. Such hath been the practice of all nations, and of all ages. It is upon this basis alone that all institutions, ill or well planned, have been founded. They will never deviate from this central point, without hastening the inevitable period of their ruin.

UNDOUBTEDLY the republic must be served, and that by the citizens: but, is it not just that every one should contribute to this service, according to his means? In order to preserve to the possessor of millions, often unjust, the intire enjoyment of his fortune, and of his delights, must the unfortunate sailor be obliged to sacrifice two-thirds of his salary, the wants of his family, and the most valuable of his property, his liberty? Would not the country be served with more zeal, with more vigour, and understanding, by men, who should voluntarily devote to it all the natural and moral powers they have acquired, or exercised, upon all the seas; than by slaves, who are necessarily and incessantly employed in attending

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tending to the breaking of their chains? Improperly will the administrators of empires allege, in justification of their atrocious conduct, that these navigators would refuse to employ their hands, and exert their courage in engagements, if they were not dragged to them against their inclinations. Every circumstance, confirms that their most favourite object would be to follow their professions; and it is demonstrated, that even if they had any dislike to it, still their necessities, which are ever renewed, would compel them to attend to it.

BUT wherefore should we not declare, that governments are as well convinced as those who censure them, of the injustice they commit towards their sailors; but they choose rather to erect tyranny into a principle, than to own that it is impossible for them to be just. In the present state of things, all of them, and more especially some, have raised their naval forces beyond what their circumstances would allow. Their pride hath not yet suffered them to descend from that exaggerated grandeur with which they had intoxicated both themselves and their neighbours. The time will come, however, and it cannot be very distant, when it will be necessary to proportion armaments to the resources of an exhausted treasury. This will be a fortunate epocha for Europe, if it should follow so bright an example. That part of the world which possesses at present three hundred and ninety-two ships of the line, and four times that number of ships of war of an inferior order, will derive great advantages from this revolution. The

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ocean will then be ploughed with fewer fleets, and those will consist of a less number of ships. The mercantile navy will be enriched from the military navy; and commerce will acquire a greater degree of extension throughout the whole universe.

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COMMERCE produces nothing of itself; for it is not of a plastic nature. Its business consists in exchanges. By its operations, a town, a province, a nation, a part of the globe are disencumbered of what is useless to them; and receive what they are in want of. It is perpetually engaged in supplying the respective wants of men. Its knowledge, its funds, and its labours, are all devoted to this honourable and necessary office. Its influence could not exist without the arts, and without cultivation: but these would be very insignificant without its influence. By pervading the earth, by crossing the seas, by raising the obstacles which opposed themselves to the intercourse of nations, by extending the sphere of wants, and the thirst of enjoyments, it multiplies labour, it encourages industry; and becomes, in some measure, the moving principle of the world.

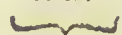
Commerce

THE PHENICIANS were the first merchants of whom history hath preserved the remembrance. Situated on the borders of the sea, on the confines of Asia and Africa, to receive and dispense all the riches of the antient world, they founded their colonies, and built their cities, with no other view but that of commerce. At Tyre,

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they were the masters of the Mediterranean; at Carthage, they laid the foundations of a republic that traded, by the ocean, upon the richest of the European coasts.

THE Greeks succeeded the Phenicians, as the Romans did the Carthaginians and the Greeks; they held the dominion of the sea as well as of the land; but they carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own use, all the riches of Africa, Asia, and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had lost all her acquisitions, commerce returned, as it were, to it's original source towards the East. There it was established, while the Barbarians over-ran Europe. The empire was divided; the din of arms, and the art of war remained in the West; Italy, however, preserved it's communication with the Levant, where all the treasures of India were circulated.

THE Crusades exhausted in Asia all the rage of zeal and ambition, of war and fanaticism, with which the Europeans were possessed; but they were the cause of introducing into Europe a taste for Asiatic luxury; and redeemed, by giving rise to some degree of traffic and industry, the blood and the lives they had cost. Three centuries, taken up in wars and voyages to the East, gave to the restless spirit of Europe a recruit it stood in need of, that it might not perish by a kind of internal consumption: they prepared the way for that exertion of genius and activity, which since
arose,

arose, and displayed itself in the conquest and trade of the East-Indies, and of America.

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THE Portugueze attempted, by degrees, and with circumspection, to double the African coast. It was not till after fourscore years of labours and of war; and after having made themselves masters of all the western coast of that vast region, that they ventured to double the Cape of Good Hope. The honour of clearing this formidable barrier was reserved to Vasco de Gama, in 1497, who at length reached the coast of Malabar, where all the treasures of the most fertile countries of Asia were to be circulated. This was the scene on which the Portugueze displayed all their conquests.

WHILE this nation made itself master of the articles of trade, the Spaniards seized upon that which purchases them, the mines of gold and silver. These metals became not only a standard to regulate the value, but also the object of commerce. In this double use they soon engrossed all the rest. All nations were in want of them to facilitate the exchange of their commodities, and obtain the conveniencies they stood in need of. The luxury and the circulation of money in the south of Europe, changed the nature as well as the direction of commerce, at the same time that it extended it's bounds.

IN the mean while, the two nations that had subdued the East and West Indies, neglected arts and agriculture. They imagined every thing was to be obtained by gold, without considering that it is labour alone that procures it: they were con-

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vinced, though late, and at their own expence, that the industry which they lost, was more valuable than the riches they acquired; and the Dutch taught them this severe lesson.

THE Spaniards, and the Portugeze, though possessed of all the gold in the world, remained or became poor; the Dutch presently acquired riches, without either lands or mines. As soon as these intrepid republicans had taken refuge in the midst of the seas, with Liberty their tutelary divinity, they perceived that their morasses would never be any thing more than the seat of their habitation, and that they should be obliged to seek resources and subsistence elsewhere. They cast their eyes over the globe, and said to themselves: "The whole world is our domain; we will enjoy it by navigation and commerce. The revolutions which shall happen upon this immense, and perpetually agitated scene, will never be concealed from our knowledge. Indolence and activity, slavery and independence, barbarism and civilization, opulence and poverty, culture and industry, purchases and sales, the vices and the virtues of men; we will turn them all to our advantage. We will encourage the labours of the nations, or we will impede their prosperity; we will urge them on to war, or we will endeavour to restore tranquillity among them, as it may be most suitable to our own interests."

TILL that period, Flanders had been the center of communication between the North and the South of Europe. The United Provinces of Holland,

Holland, which had detached themselves from it, in order to belong only to themselves, took it's place, and became, in their turn, the staple of all the powers which had more or less exchanges to make.

THE ambition of the new republic was limited to this first advantage. After having draw'n into it's ports the productions of other countries, it's navigators went themselves in quest of them. Holland soon became an immense magazine, where all the productions of the several climates were collected; and this union of so many important objects increased continually, in proportion as the wants of the people were multiplied, with the means of satisfying them. One merchandize attracted another. The commodities of the Old World invited those of the New. One purchaser brought another; and the treasures already acquired, became a certain method of acquiring more.

EVERY circumstance was favourable to the rise and progress of the commerce of this republic. It's position on the borders of the sea, at the mouths of several great rivers; it's proximity to the most fertile or best cultivated lands of Europe; it's natural connections with England and Germany, which defended it against France; the little extent and fertility of it's own soil, which obliged the inhabitants to become fishermen, sailors, brokers, bankers, carriers, and commissaries; in a word, to endeavour to live by industry for want of territory. Moral causes contributed, with those of the climate and the soil, to

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establiſh and advance it's proſperity. The liberty of it's government, which opened an aſylum to all ſtrangers diſſatisfied with their own; the freedom of it's religion, which permitted a public and quiet profeſſion of all other modes of worſhip; that is to ſay, the agreement of the voice of nature with that of conſcience, of intereſts with duty; in a word, that toleration, that univerſal religion of all equitable and enlightened minds, friends to heaven and earth; to God, as to their father; to men, as to their brethren. Finally, this commercial republic found out the ſecret of availing itſelf of all events, and of making even the calamities and vices of other nations concur in advancing it's felicity. It turned to it's own advantage the civil wars which fanaticiſm had raiſed among people of a reſtleſs ſpirit, or which patriotiſm had excited among a free people; it profited by the indolence and ignorance which bigotry ſupported among two nations who were under the influence of the imagination.

THIS ſpirit of induſtry in Holland, with which was intermixed a conſiderable ſhare of that political art which ſows the ſeeds of jealousy and diſcord among the nations, at length excited the attention of other powers. The Engliſh were the firſt to perceive that traffic might be carried on without the interpoſition of the Dutch. England, where the incroachments of deſpotiſm had given birth to liberty, becauſe they were antecedent to corruption and effeminacy, was deſirous of obtaining riches by labour, which is their antidote. The Engliſh firſt conſidered commerce as the
proper

proper science and support of an enlightened, powerful, and even a virtuous people. They considered it rather as an improvement of industry than an acquisition of enjoyments: rather as an encouragement and a source of activity in favour of population, than as a promoter of luxury and magnificence, for the purpose of parade. Invited to trade by their situation, this became the spirit of their government, and the means of their ambition. All their schemes tended to this great object. In other monarchies, trade is carried on by the people; in this happy constitution by the state, or the whole nation: she carries it on indeed with a constant desire of dominion, which implies that of enslaving other people, but by means, at least, which constitute the happiness of the world before it is subdued. By war, the conqueror is little happier than the conquered; because injuries and massacres are their mutual object: but by commerce, the conquering people necessarily introduce industry into the country, which they would not have subdued if it had been already industrious, or in which they would not maintain themselves, if they had not brought industry in along with them. Upon these principles England had founded her commerce and her empire, and mutually and alternately extended one by the other.

THE French, situated under as favourable a sky, and upon as happy a soil, have, for a long time, flattered themselves with the idea that they had much to give to other nations, without being under a necessity of asking scarce any return. But Colbert was sensible that in the ferment Europe

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was in at that time, there would be an evident advantage for the culture and productions of a country that should employ those of the whole world. He opened manufactures for all the arts. The woollens, silks, dyes, embroideries, the gold and silver stuffs; all acquired, in the establishments the operations of which he directed, a degree of perfection, which the other manufactures could not attain. To increase the utility of these arts, it was necessary to possess the materials for them. The culture of them was encouraged according to the diversity of climates and territory. Some of them were required even of the provinces of the kingdom; and the rest from the colonies which chance had given it in the New World, as well as from all the navigators who had for a century past infested the seas with their robberies. The nation must then necessarily have made a double profit upon the materials and the workmanship of the manufactures. The French pursued, for a long time, this precarious and temporary object of commerce, with an activity and spirit of emulation which must have made them greatly surpass their rivals; and they still enjoy that superiority over other nations, in all those arts of luxury and ornament which procure riches to industry.

THE natural volatility of the national character, and it's propensity to trifling pursuits, hath brought treasures to the state, by the taste that has fortunately prevailed for it's fashions. Like to that light and delicate sex, which teaches and inspires us with a taste for dress, the French reign

in all courts, and in all regions, respecting every thing that concerns ornament or magnificence, and their art of pleasing is one of the mysterious sources of their fortune and power. Other nations have subdued the world by those simple and rustic manners, which constitute the virtues that are fit for war; to them it was given to reign over it by their vices. Their empire will continue, till being degraded and enslaved by their masters, by exertions of authority equally arbitrary and unlimited, they will become contemptible in their own eyes. Then they will lose, with their confidence in themselves, that industry, which is one of the sources of their opulence and of the springs of their activity.

GERMANY, which hath only a few ports, and those bad ones, hath been obliged to behold, with an indifferent or a jealous eye, it's ambitious neighbours enriching themselves with the spoils of the sea, and of the East and the West Indies. It's industry hath been restrained even upon it's frontiers, which were perpetually ravaged by destructive wars, and as far as into the interior part of it's provinces, by the nature of it's constitution, which is singularly complicated. A great deal of time, extensive knowledge, and considerable efforts, would be requisite, to establish a commerce of any importance in a region where every thing seemed unfavourable to it. This period, however, is now at hand. Flax and hemp are already industriously cultivated, and appear under agreeable forms. Wool and cotton are wrought with skill; and other manufactures are begun or improved.

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If, as the laborious and steady character of the inhabitants induces us to hope, the empire should ever attain to the advantage of paying, with it's own productions and manufactures, for those which it is obliged to provide itself with from other nations; and to preserve within itself the metals which are extracted from it's mines, it will soon become one of the most opulent countries of Europe.

It would be absurd to announce so brilliant a destiny to the northern nations, although commerce hath also begun to meliorate their condition. The iron of their rude climate, which formerly served only for their mutual destruction, hath been turned to uses beneficial to mankind, and part of that which they used to deliver in it's rough state, is never sold at present till after it hath been wrought. They have found a mart for their naval stores at a higher price than they were formerly sold for, before navigation had acquired that prodigious extension which astonishes us. If some of these people indolently wait for purchasers in their harbours, others carry out their productions themselves into foreign ports, and this activity extends their ideas, their transactions, and their advantages.

THIS new principle of the moral world, hath insinuated itself by degrees, till it is become, as it were, necessary to the formation and existence of political bodies. The taste for luxury and conveniences hath produced the love of labour, which at present constitutes the chief strength of a state. The sedentary occupations of the mechanic arts indeed, render men more liable to be affected.

affected by the injuries of the seasons, less fit to be exposed to the open air which is the first nutritive principle of life. But still, it is better that the human race should be enervated under the roofs of the workshops, than inured to hardships under tents; because war destroys, while commerce, on the contrary, gives new life to every thing. By this useful revolution in manners, the general maxims of politics have altered the face of Europe. It is no longer a people immersed in poverty that becomes formidable to a rich nation. Power is at present an attendant on riches, because they are no longer the fruit of conquest, but the produce of constant labour, and of a life spent in perpetual employment. Gold and silver corrupt only those indolent minds which indulge in the delights of luxury, upon that stage of intrigue and meanness, that is called greatness. But these metals employ the hands and arms of the people; they excite a spirit of agriculture in the fields; of navigation in the maritime cities; and in the center of the state they lead to the manufacturing of arms, clothing, furniture, and the construction of buildings. A spirit of emulation exists between man and nature: they are perpetually improving each other. The people are formed and fashioned by the arts they profess. If there be some occupations which soften and degrade the human race, there are others by which it is hardened and repaired. If it be true that art renders them unnatural, they do not, at least, propagate in order to destroy themselves, as among the barbarous nations in heroic times.

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It is certainly an easy, as well as a captivating subject; to describe the Romans with the single art of war, subduing all the other arts, all other nations indolent or commercial, civilized or savage; breaking or despising the vases of Corinth, more happy with their Gods made of clay, than with the golden statues of their worthless emperors. But it is a more pleasing, and perhaps a nobler sight, to behold all Europe peopled with laborious nations, who are continually sailing round the globe, in order to cultivate and render it fit for mankind; to see them animate, by the enlivening breath of industry, all the regenerating powers of nature; seek in the abyss of the ocean, and in the bowels of rocks, for new means of subsistence, or new enjoyments; stir and raise up the earth with all the mechanic powers invented by genius; establish between the two hemispheres, by the happy improvements in the art of navigation, a communication of flying bridges, as it were, that re-unite one continent to the other; pursue all the tracks of the sun, overcome its annual barriers, and pass from the tropics to the poles upon the wings of the wind; in a word to see them open all the streams of population and pleasure, in order to pour them upon the face of the earth through a thousand channels. It is then, perhaps, that the divinity contemplates his work with satisfaction, and does not repent himself of having made man.

SUCH is the image of commerce; let us now admire the genius of the merchant. The same understanding that Newton had to calculate the
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motion of the stars, the merchant exerts in tracing the progress of the commercial people that fertilize the earth. His problems are the more difficult to resolve, as the circumstances of them are not taken from the immutable laws of nature, as the systems of the geometrician are; but depend upon the caprices of men, and the uncertainty of a thousand complicated events. That accurate spirit of combination that Cromwell and Richelieu must have had, the one to destroy, the other to establish despotic government, the merchant also possesses and carries it further: for he takes in both worlds at one view, and directs his operations upon an infinite variety of relative considerations, which it is seldom given to the statesman, or even to the philosopher, to comprehend and estimate. Nothing must escape him; he must foresee the influence of the seasons, upon the plenty, the scarcity, and the quality of provisions; upon the departure or return of his ships; the influence of political affairs upon those of commerce; the changes which war or peace must necessarily occasion in the prices and demands for merchandize, in the quantity and choice of provisions, in the state of the cities and ports of the whole world; he must know the consequences that an alliance of the two northern nations may have under the torrid zone; the progress, either towards aggrandizement or decay, of the several trading companies; the effect that the fall of any European power in India, may have over Africa and America; the stagnation that may be produced in certain countries, by the blocking
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up of some channels of industry; the reciprocal connection there is between most branches of trade, and the mutual assistances they lend by the temporary injuries they seem to inflict upon each other; he must know the proper time to begin, and when to stop in every new undertaking: in a word, he must be acquainted with the art of making all other nations tributary to his own, and of increasing his own fortune by increasing the prosperity of his country; or rather he must know how to enrich himself by extending the general prosperity of mankind. Such are the objects that the profession of the merchant engages him to attend to: and still this is not the whole extent of them.

COMMERCE is a science which requires the knowlege of men still more than of things. It's difficulties arise less from the multiplicity of it's transactions than from the avidity of those who are engaged in them. It is therefore necessary to treat with them apparently as if we were convinced of their good faith, and at the same time to take as many precautions as if they were destitute of every principle.

ALMOST all men are honest out of their own profession; but there are few who in the exercise of it conform to the rules of scrupulous probity. This vice, which prevails from the highest to the lowest ranks, arises from the great number of malversations introduced by time and excused by custom. Personal interest and general habit conceal the crime and the meanness of such proceedings. *I do no more*, it is said, *than what others do*, and thus we accustom ourselves to com-
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mit actions which our conscience soon ceases to reproach us with.

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THESE kinds of fraud do not appear so in the eyes of those who indulge themselves in them. As they are common to all professions, do they not reciprocally expiate each other? I take out of the purse of those who deal with me, what those whom I have dealt with have taken too much out of mine. Will it be required, that a merchant, a workman, or any individual whatever, should suffer the tacit and secret oppressions of all those to whom his daily wants oblige him to address himself, without ever seeking his indemnity from any one of them? Since every thing is compensated by general injustice, all will be as well as if the most rigid justice prevailed.

BUT can there be any kind of compensation in these rapines of detail exercised by one class of citizens over all the rest, or in those exercised by the latter over the former? Are all professions in equal want of each other? Several of them, which are exposed to frauds incessantly renewed, do they not mostly want opportunities of imposing in their turn? Do not circumstances make an alteration from one day to another in the proportion there is between these impositions? These observations will perhaps appear too trifling; let us therefore be allowed to dwell upon one more important reflection. Will any wise man think it to be a matter of indifference that iniquity should be practised with impunity, and almost with universal consent, in all states; that the body of a nation should be corrupt, and to a degree of

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corruption that knows neither restraint nor bounds; and that there is a material difference between a theft which hath the sanction of custom and is daily repeated, and any other possible act of injustice?

THE evil must, however, be thought irremediable, at least with respect to retail trades, since the only system of morality applicable to those who follow them, is comprized in these maxims: “ Endeavour not to be dishonoured in your profession. If you sell dearer than other people, keep up at least the reputation of selling better merchandize. Gain as much as you can; and especially avoid the having of two prices for your goods. Make your fortune as speedily as you can. If you should not be ill-spoken of, and should not forfeit your character, all is well.” Honest principles might be substituted to these; but it would be in vain. The trifling daily profits, those niggardly savings which constitute essential resources in some professions, lower and degrade the soul, and extinguish in it all sense of dignity, and nothing truly laudable can be either recommended to, or expected from, a species of men who have arrived to such a pitch of degradation.

It is not the same thing with those whose speculations embrace all the countries of the earth, whose complicated operations connect the most distant nations, and by whose means the whole universe becomes one single family. These men may have a noble idea of their profession, and it is almost unnecessary to say to most of them, Be honest

honest in your dealings; because dishonesty, while it would be prejudicial to yourselves, would also be injurious to your fellow-citizens, and asperse the character of your nation.

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Do not abuse your credit; that is to say, in case of any unexpected misfortune, let your own funds be able to replace those you have obtained from the confidence which your correspondents have reposed in your knowledge, your talents, and your probity. In the midst of the subversion of your fortunes, shew yourselves similar to those great trees which the thunder hath throw'n down, but which still preserve all their appearance of majesty.

You will mistrust yourselves so much the more, as you are almost always the only judges of your own probity.

I KNOW very well that you will be always respected by the multitude as long as you are wealthy; but how will you appear in your own eyes? If you have no regard for your own esteem, heap up gold upon gold and be happy, if it be possible for a man destitute of morals to be so.

You must undoubtedly have retained, as you ought, some religious principles. Remember, therefore, that a time will come when your conscience will reproach you for riches dishonestly acquired, and which you must restore, unless, like madmen, you set at defiance a judge who is ready to call you to a rigid account of them.

SERVE all nations; but whatever advantage may be offered to you from speculation, give it up, if it should be injurious to your own country.

LET your word be sacred. Be ruined if it be necessary, rather than break it; and shew that honour is more precious to you than gold.

Do not embrace too many objects at once. Whatever strength of mind you may have, or however extensive your genius may be, remember that the common day of the labouring man consists of little more than six hours, and that all affairs which may require a longer day, would be necessarily intrusted to your subaltern assistants. A chaos would soon be formed around you, in dissipating of which you might find yourself plunged from the summit of prosperity, where you imagine yourself to be, to the bottomless pit of misfortune.

I SHALL never cease to recommend order to you: without it, every thing becomes uncertain. Nothing is done, or every thing is ill and hastily done. Neglect renders all undertakings equally ruinous.

ALTHOUGH there be perhaps not one government honest enough to induce an individual to assist it with his credit, nevertheless I advise you to run the chance of it: but let not this assistance exceed your own fortune. You may injure yourself for your country, but none but yourself. The love of one's country must be subordinate to the laws of honour and of justice.

NEVER put yourself under the necessity of displaying your sorrows and your despair to a court, who will coolly allege to you the public necessity, and will make you the shameful offer of a safe-conduct. It is in you that the foreigners and
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the citizens have placed their confidence, and not in the ministry of a nation. It is in your hands that they have deposited their funds, and nothing can screen you from their reproaches and from those of your conscience, if you have one.

You will be exceedingly prudent if you form no other enterprizes, except those which may miscarry, without affecting your family or disturbing your own repose.

BE neither pusillanimous nor rash. Pusillanimity would keep you in a state of mediocrity, rashness might deprive you in one day of the fruit of several years labour.

THERE is no comparison to be made between fortune and credit. Fortune without credit is of little consequence. Credit without fortune is unlimited. As long as credit remains, ruin is not completed; but the least shock to your credit may be followed by the worst of catastrophes. I have know'n an instance in which, at the end of twenty years, it had not yet been forgotten, that an opulent company had stopped payment for the space of four and twenty hours.

THE credit of a merchant is recovered with still greater difficulty, than the honour of a woman: Nothing but a kind of miracle can put a stop to an alarm which spreads itself instantaneously from one hemisphere of the globe to the other.

THE merchant ought not to be less jealous of his credit, than the military man of his honour.

IF you have any elevation of mind, you will rather choose to serve your fellow-citizens with less advantage, than foreigners at a less risque,

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risque, with less trouble, and with more profit.

PREFER an honest to a more lucrative speculation.

IT hath been said, that the merchant, the banker, and the factor, being citizens of the world by profession, were not citizens of any particular country. Let such injurious discourse no longer be holden against you.

IF, when you quit trade, you should only enjoy among your fellow-citizens that degree of consideration granted to considerable riches, you will not have acquired every thing which you might have obtained from commerce.

THE contempt of riches is perhaps incompatible with the spirit of commerce: but woe be to those in whom that spirit should exclude all sentiments of honour.

I HAVE raised an altar in my heart to four classes of citizens: to the philosopher, who searches after truth, who enlightens the nations, and who preaches, by his example, virtue to men; to the magistrate, who knows how to maintain an equal balance of justice; to the military man, who defends his country; and to the honest merchant, who enriches and honours it. The husbandman, by whom we are fed, will excuse me for having forgotten him.

IF the merchant doth not consider himself among this distinguished rank of citizens, he doth not hold himself in sufficient estimation. He forgets, that in his morning's work a few strokes of
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His pen put the four quarters of the world in motion for their mutual happiness.

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SUFFER not yourselves to indulge any base jealousy for the prosperity of another. If you thwart his operations without any motive, you are a bad man; and if you happen to discover his operations, and appropriate them to yourself, you will have robbed him.

THE influence of gold is as fatal to individuals as to nations. If you do not take care, you will be intoxicated with it. You will be desirous of heaping wealth upon wealth, and you will become either avaricious or prodigal. If you be avaricious, you will be rigid, and the sentiment of commiseration and benevolence will be extinguished within you. If you be prodigal, after having wasted the prime of your life in acquiring riches, you will be reduced to indigence by extravagant expences; and if you should escape this misfortune, you will not escape contempt.

Open sometimes your purse to the unfortunate and industrious man.

If you wish to be honoured during your life, and after your death, consecrate a part of your fortune to some monument of public utility. Woe to your heirs, if they be displeased at this expence.

REMEMBER, that when a man dies who hath nothing but his wealth to boast of, he is no loss to society.


THESE maxims, which we have allowed ourselves to recall to the memory of man, have al-

ways been, and will always be true. If it should happen that they should appear problematical to some of those persons whose actions they are intended to regulate, the public authority must be blamed for it. The rapacious and servile treasury encourage in all parts private injustice, by the general acts of injustice they are seen to commit. They oppress commerce with the numberless imposts they lay upon it; they degrade the merchant, by the injurious suspicions which they are incessantly throwing out against his probity; they render, in some measure, fraud necessary, by the fatal invention of monopolies.

MONOPOLY is the exclusive privilege of one citizen, over all others, to buy or to sell. At this definition every sensible man will start, and say: Among citizens, all equals, all serving society, all contributing to it's expences, in proportion to their means, how is it possible that one of them should have a right, of which another is legally deprived? What matter, then, is this, so sacred in it's nature, that any man whatever cannot acquire it, if he be in want of it; or dispose of it, if it should belong to him.

If any one could pretend to this privilege, it would undoubtedly be the sovereign. Nevertheless, he cannot do it, for he is nothing more than the first of the citizens. The body of the nation may gratify him with it; but then it is only an act of deference, and not the consequence of a prerogative, which would necessarily be tyrannical. If, therefore, the sovereign cannot arrogate
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it to himself, much less can he confer it upon another. We cannot give away what is not our legitimate property.

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BUT if, contrary to the nature of things, there should exist a people, having some pretensions to liberty, and where the chief hath nevertheless arrogated to himself, or conferred a monopoly on another, what hath been the consequence of this infringement of general rights? Rebellion undoubtedly. No; it ought to have been, although it has not. The reason of this is, that a society is an assemblage of men, employed in different functions, having different interests, jealous, pusillanimous, preferring the peaceable enjoyment of what is left them, to the having recourse to arms in the defence of what is taken from them; living by the side of each other, and pressing upon each other, without any concurrence of inclination: it is because this unanimity, so useful, if even it should subsist among them, would neither give them the courage nor the strength they are in want of, and consequently neither the hope of conquering, nor the resolution of perishing: it is, because they would see for themselves an imminent danger in a fruitless attempt, while in success they would see only advantages for their descendants, whom they have less regard for than they have for themselves. - - - Sometimes, however, this circumstance hath happened. - - - Yes, but it was brought about by the enthusiasm of fanaticism.

BUT in whatever country monopoly may have taken place, it hath produced nothing but devastation,

vastration. Exclusive privileges have ruined the Old and the New World. There is no infant colony in the New Hemisphere which hath not been either weakened or destroyed by it. In our hemisphere, there is no flourishing country the splendour of which it hath not extinguished; no enterprize, however brilliant, which it hath not obscured; no circumstance, more or less flattering, which it hath not turned to the general detriment.

BUT by what fatality hath all this happened? It was not a fatality, but a necessity. It hath been done, because it was necessary it should be done, and for this reason: because the possessor of a privilege, however powerful he may be, can never have either the credit or the resources of a whole nation: because his monopoly not being able to last for ever, he avails himself of it as fast as he can, sees nothing but the present moment, and every thing which is beyond the term of his exclusive privilege is nothing to him; he chooses rather to be less rich without waiting, than more rich by waiting. By an instinct natural to man, whose enjoyments are founded upon injustice, tyranny, and vexation, he is perpetually in dread of the suppression of a privilege fatal to all. This has happened, because his interest is all to himself, and the interest of the nation is nothing to him: it is because, for a small and momentary advantage, but for a certain one, he scruples not to do a great and permanent mischief: it is because the exclusive privilege, when it comes to the spot where it is to be exercised, introduces along with it the train of
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all persecutions : it is, because by the folly, the vague extent, or the extension of the terms of his grant, and by the power of him who hath either granted or protects it, he becomes master of all, interferes with every thing, he restrains and destroys every thing ; he will annihilate a branch of industry useful to all, in order to compel another branch, prejudicial to all but himself ; he will pretend to command the soil, as he hath commanded the labours, and the ground must cease producing what is proper to it, in order to produce only what is suitable to the monopoly, or to become barren ; for he will prefer barrenness to a fertility which interferes with him, and scarcity which he does not feel, to plenty which might diminish his profits : it is because, according to the nature of the thing of which he hath got the exclusive trade, if it be an article of primary necessity, he will starve at once a whole country, or leave it quite bare ; if it be not an article of primary necessity, he will soon be able, by indirect means, to make it one, and he will still starve, and leave quite bare the country, which he will easily deprive of the means of acquiring this article ; it is because it is almost possible for him, who is the sole vender, to make himself, by contrivances as artful and deep as they are atrocious, the only buyer ; and that then he will put at pleasure the article he sells, at a very exorbitant price ; and that which the people are obliged to sell to him, at a very low one. Then it is, that the seller, being disgusted of a branch of industry, of a culture and of a labour

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which doth not bring him the equivalent of his expences, every thing goes to ruin, and the nation falls into misery.

THE term of the exclusive privileges expires, and the possessor of it retires opulent; but the opulence of a single man, raised upon the ruin of the multitude, is a great evil, and therefore why hath it not been obviated? Wherefore is it not opposed? From the prejudice, as *cruel* as it is *absurd*, that it is a matter of indifference to the state, whether wealth be in the purse of one man, or of another; whether it be confined to one man, or distributed among several. *Absurd*, because in all cases, and especially in those of great necessity, the sovereign addresses himself to the nation; that is, to a great number of men, who possess scarce any thing, and whose ruin is completed by the little that is taken from them; and to a very small number of men, who possess a great deal, and who give a little, or indeed who never give in proportion to what they possess; and whose contribution, if even it were upon a level with their wealth, would never yield the hundredth part of what might have been obtained, without exaction, and without murmur, from a numerous set of people in easy circumstances. *Cruel*, because, with equal advantages, it would be an act of inhumanity to compel the multitude to want and to suffer.

BUT is the exclusive privilege gratuitously granted? Sometimes; and it is then a mark of acknowledgement either for great services, or for a long train of mean servilities, or the result of the intrigues

intrigues of a series of subalterns, bought and sold; one extremity of which series comes from the lowest classes of society, while the other is contiguous to the throne; and that is what is called protection. When sold, it is never for its full value, and that for several reasons. It is impossible that the price paid for it can compensate for the ravages it occasions. Its value cannot yet be know'n, neither by the chief of the nation, who knows nothing, nor by his representative, who is often as ill informed, beside that he is sometimes a traitor to his master and to his country; nor even by the purchaser himself, who always calculates his acquisition by the rate of its least produce. In a word, these shameful bargains being mostly made in times of crisis, the administration accepts a sum little proportioned to the value of the thing, but advanced in the moment of urgent necessity, or, what is more common, of urgent caprice.

LASTLY, let us examine what is the result of these monopolies repeated, and of the disasters which attend them; the ruin of the state, and the contempt of public faith. After these acts of infidelity, which cannot be mentioned without exciting a blush, the nation is plunged into desolation. In the midst of several millions of unfortunate wretches, there arises the proud head of some extortioners, gorged with riches, and insulting over the misery of all. The empire enervated, totters for some time on the borders of the abyss into which it falls, amongst the acclamations of contempt and ridicule from its neighbours; unless

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less heaven should raise up a saviour in it's favour; whom it always expects, but who doth not always arrive, or who is soon disgusted by the general persecution he experiences from those villains of whom he is the terror.

THE obstacles with which the several governments clog the trade which their subjects either carry on, or ought to carry on, among themselves, are still much more multiplied in that trade which is carried on between one state and the rest. This jealousy of the powers, which is almost of modern date, might be taken for a secret conspiracy to ruin each other, without advantage to any one of them.

THOSE who govern the people, exert the same skill in guarding against the industry of the nations, as in preserving themselves from the artifices of the intriguing men by whom they are surrounded. Acts of violence and reciprocal enmity universally prevail in all parts. Some ignorant, mean, and corrupt men, have filled Europe, and the whole world, with a multitude of unbearable restraints, which have been more and more extended. Centinels and obstacles are placed in every part of the sea and of the land. The traveller enjoys no repose, the merchant no property; both are equally exposed to all the snares of an insidious legislation, that gives rise to crimes by it's prohibitions, and to penalties by crimes. Men become culpable without knowing it, or without design; are arrested, plundered, and taxed, without having any thing to reproach themselves with. Such is the state of commerce

in time of peace. But what shall we say of commercial wars?

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It is natural enough for a people, pent up in the icy regions of the north, to dig out iron from the bowels of the earth that refuses them subsistence; and to reap the harvest of another nation by force of arms: hunger, which is restrained by no laws, cannot violate any, and seems to plead an excuse for these hostilities. Men must necessarily live by plunder, when they have no corn. But when a nation enjoys the privilege of an extensive commerce, and can supply several other states from it's superfluity; what motive can induce it to declare war against other industrious nations; to obstruct their navigation and their labours; in a word, to forbid them to live, on pain of death? Why does it arrogate to itself an exclusive branch of trade, a right of fishing and of navigation, as if it were a matter of property, and as if the sea were to be divided into acres as well as the land? The motives of such wars are easily discovered: we know that the jealousy of commerce is nothing more than a jealousy of power. But have any people a right to obstruct a work they cannot execute themselves, and to condemn another nation to indolence, because they themselves choose to be entirely given up to it?

How unnatural and contradictory an expression is a war of commerce! Commerce is the source and means of subsistence; war of destruction. Commerce may, possibly, give rise to war, and continue it; but war puts a stop to every branch of commerce. Whatever advantage one nation
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may derive from another in trade, becomes a motive of industry and emulation to both : in war; on the contrary, the injury affects both; for plunder, fire, and sword, can neither improve lands, nor enrich mankind. The wars of commerce are so much the more fatal, as by the present superiority of the maritime powers over those of the continent, and of Europe over the three other parts of the world, the conflagration becomes general; and that the dissentions of two maritime powers excite the spirit of discord among all their allies, and occasion inactivity even among the neutral powers.

COASTS and seas stained with blood, and covered with dead bodies; the horrors of war extending from pole to pole, between Africa, Asia, and America, as well throughout the sea that separates us from the New World, as throughout the vast extent of the Pacific Ocean : such has been the spectacle exhibited in the two last wars, in which all the powers of Europe have been alternately shaken, or have distinguished themselves by some remarkable exertion. In the meanwhile, the earth was depopulated, and commerce did not supply the losses it had sustained; the lands were exhausted by taxes, and the channels of navigation did not assist the progress of agriculture. The loans of the state previously ruined, the fortunes of the citizens by usurious profits, the forerunners of bankruptcy. Even those powers that were victorious, oppressed by the conquests they had made, and having acquired a greater extent of land than they could keep or cultivate,

cultivate, were involved in the ruin of their enemies. The neutral powers, who were desirous of enriching themselves in peace, in the midst of this commotion, were exposed, and tamely submitted to insults more disgraceful than the defeats of an open war.

THE spirit of discord had been transferred from the sovereigns to the people. The citizens of the several states took up arms reciprocally to plunder each other. Nothing was seen but merchantmen changed into privateers: those by whom they were commanded were not urged by necessity to follow this employment; some of them had fortunes, and the others might have received advantageous salaries from all sides. An inordinate passion for plunder was the only stimulus they had to this depravity. When they met with a peaceful merchantman, they were seized with a ferocious joy, which manifested itself in the most lively transports: they were cruel, and homicides. An enemy more fortunate, stronger, or bolder, might, in their turn, deprive them of their prey, their liberty, and their life. But the aspect of a danger so common did not diminish either their avarice or their rage. This species of frenzy was not new. It had been know'n in the most distant ages, and had been perpetuated from one century to another. Man, at all times, though not urged by the unconquerable stimulus of hunger, hath sought to devour man. The calamity, however, which we here deplore, had never arisen to that pitch at which we have seen it. The activity of piracy hath increased in proportion as the seas have fur-

nished it with more means to satisfy it's avidity, and it's turbulent spirit.

Will nations, then, never be convinced of the necessity of putting an end to these acts of barbarism? Would not a restraint which should check their progress, prove a circumstance of evident utility? Wherefore must the productions of the two worlds be either swallowed up in the abyss of the ocean, together with the vessels which convey them; or become the prey of the vices and debauchery of a few vagabonds, destitute of morals and of principles? Will this infatuation continue much longer, or will the administrators of empires at length open their eyes to the light? Should they one day be made acquainted with their true interests, with the essential interests of the societies at the head of which they are placed, they will not limit their policy to the clearing of the seas from pirates, but they will extend it so far, as to leave a free intercourse to the connections subsisting between their respective subjects, during those murderous and destructive hostilities which frequently harass and ravage the globe.

THEY are fortunately passed those deplorable times, when the nations fought for their mutual annihilation. The troubles which at present divide Europe, have not so fatal an aim. It is seldom that any other object is proposed, than the reparation of some injustice, or the maintenance of a certain equilibrium between empires. The belligerent powers will undoubtedly endeavour to annoy and to weaken each other, as much

as possible : but if none of them could do more mischief than they suffered, would it not be generally useful to put a stop to these calamities? This is what constantly happens, when war suspends the operations of commerce.

THEN one state rejects the productions and the industry of the adverse state, which, in it's turn, rejects her productions and her industry. This is, on both sides, a diminution of labour, of profit, and of enjoyments. The interference of neutral powers, in those circumstances, is not so favourable as we are perhaps accustomed to consider it. Beside that their agency must necessarily be very expensive, they endeavour to raise themselves upon the ruin of those whom they seem to serve. Whatever their soil and their manufactures can furnish, is substituted, as much as possible, to the productions of the soil and manufactures of the armed powers, which frequently do not recover at the peace, what the hostilities had made them lose. It will therefore be always consistent with the interests of the nations which make war against each other, to continue, without restraint, the exchanges they carried on before, their dissensions.

ALL truths hold by each other. Let this truth, the importance of which we have established, direct the conduct of governments, and we shall soon see those innumerable barriers, which even in times of the most profound tranquillity, separate the nations, whatever may be the affinities which nature or chance hath created between them, will exist no more.

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THE most sanguinary disputes were formerly no more than transient explosions, after which, each people reposed upon their arms, either defeated or triumphant. Peace, at that time, was peace; but, at present, it is nothing more than a tacit war. Every state rejects foreign productions, either by prohibitions, or by restraints often equivalent to prohibitions. Every state refuses it's own, upon such equitable terms which might make them be sought after, or extend their consumption. The desire of mutually annoying each other, is extended from one pole to the other. In vain hath nature regulated, that, under her wise laws, every country should be opulent, powerful, and happy, from the wealth, the power, and the felicity of the rest. They have, unanimously as it were, disturbed this plan of universal benevolence, to the detriment of them all. Their ambition hath led them to insulate themselves; and this solitary situation hath made them desirous of an exclusive prosperity. Evil for evil hath then been returned. Artifices have been opposed to artifices, proscriptions to proscriptions, and fraud to fraud. Nations have become enervated, in attempting to enervate the rival powers; and it was impossible that it should be otherwise. The connections of commerce are all very close. One of it's branches cannot experience any opposition, without the others being sensible of it. Commerce connects people and fortunes together, and establishes the intercourse of exchanges. It is one entire whole, the several parts of which, attract, support, and balance each other.

other. It resembles the human body, all the parts of which are affected, when one of them doth not fulfil the functions that were destined to it.

Would you wish to put an end to the calamities which ill-contrived plans have brought upon the whole earth, you must pull down the fatal walls with which they have encompassed themselves. You must restore that happy fraternity which constituted the delight of the first ages. Let the people, in whatever country fate may have placed them, to whatever government they may be subject, whatever religion they may profess, communicate as freely with each other, as the inhabitants of a hamlet with those of a neighbouring one; with those of the most contiguous town, and with all those of the same empire; that is to say, free from duties, formalities, or predilections.

Then, but not before, the earth will be filled with productions, and those of an exquisite quality. The frenzy of impositions and prohibitions hath reduced each state to cultivate commodities, which it's soil and it's climate rejected, and which were never either of good quality, or plentiful. The labours will be directed to another channel. When the earth can satisfy it's wants in a more pleasant way, and at a cheaper rate, it will turn all it's activity to objects for which nature had destined it; and which being such as they should be, will find an advantageous mart in those places even where an enlightened system of

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œconomy shall have determined the people to reject them.

THEN, but not before, all nations will attain to that degree of prosperity, to which they are allowed to aspire : they will enjoy both their own riches, and the riches of other nations. The people who had till then had some success in trade, have hitherto imagined that their neighbours could only make their own trade flourish at the expence of their's. This presumption had made them behold with an anxious and suspicious eye, the efforts that were made to improve their situation; and had excited them to interrupt, by the manœuvres of an active and unjust cupidity, labours, the consequences of which they dreaded. They will alter their conduct, when they shall have understood, that the natural and moral order of things is subverted by the present state of them; that the idleness of one country is hurtful to all the rest, either because it condemns them to more labour, or because it deprives them of some enjoyments; that foreign industry, far from confining their's, will extend it; that the more benefits shall be multiplied around them, the more easy it will be for them to extend their conveniences, and their exchanges; that their harvests and their manufactures must necessarily fall to ruin, if the marts, and their returns, are to be deficient; that states, as well as individuals, have a visible interest, habitually, to sell at the highest price possible, and to purchase at the highest price possible; and that this double advantage can

can be found only in the greatest possible competition, and in the greatest affluence, between the sellers and the purchasers. This is the interest of every government, and it is therefore the interest of all of them.

LET it not be said, that, in the system of a general and illimited liberty, some people would acquire a too determined ascendant over the rest. The new plans will not deprive any state of it's soil, or of it's genius. Whatever advantages each may have had in times of prohibition, it will preserve under the guidance of better principles. It's utility will even increase considerably, because it's neighbours, enjoying more wealth, will more and more extend it's consumptions.

If there existed a country which might be allowed to have some dislike to the abolition of the prohibitive government, it undoubtedly would be that which improvident nature hath condemned to an eternal poverty. Accustomed to reject, by sumptuary laws, the delights of more fortunate countries, they might be apprehensive that a communication entirely free, with them, might subvert their maxims, corrupt their morals, and pave the way for their ruin. These alarms would be ill-founded. Except, perhaps, a few moments of illusion; every nation would regulate their wants by their abilities.

HAPPY, then, and infinitely happy, will be that power, which shall be the first to disencumber itself of the restraints, the taxes, and the prohibitions, which in all parts oppress and stop the progress of commerce. Attracted by the liberty,

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the facility, the safety, and the multiplicity of exchanges; the ships, the productions, the commodities, and the merchants of all countries, will crowd into their ports. The causes of so splendid a prosperity will soon be understood; and the nations renouncing their antient errors, and their destructive prejudices, will hasten to adopt principles so fertile in favourable events. The revolution will become general. Clouds will be dispelled in all parts; a serene sky will shine over the face of the whole globe, and nature will resume the reins of the world. Then, or never, will that universal peace arise, which a warlike, but humane monarch did not think to be a chimerical idea. If so desirable and so little expected a benefit should not issue from this new order of things, from this great unfolding of reason, at least the general felicity of men will be established upon a more solid basis.

Agriculture.

COMMERCE, which naturally arises from agriculture, returns to it by it's bent, and by it's circulation. Thus it is that the rivers return to the sea, which has produced them, by the exhalations of it's waters into vapours, and by the fall of those vapours into waters. The flow of gold brought by the circulation and consumption of the fruits of the earth, returns, at length, into the fields, there to produce all the necessaries of life, and the materials of commerce. If the lands be not cultivated, all commerce is precarious; because it is deprived of it's original supplies, which are the productions of nature. Nations that are only maritime, or commercial, enjoy,
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it is true, the fruits of commerce; but the tree of it belongs to those people who cultivate it. Agriculture is therefore the first and real opulence of a state.

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THESE benefits were not enjoyed in the infancy of the world. The first inhabitants of the globe relied only upon chance, and upon their dexterity, for procuring to themselves an uncertain subsistence. They wandered from one region to another. Incessantly absorbed in the ideas of want or fear, they reciprocally fled from, or destroyed, each other. The earth was stirred up, and the miseries of a vagabond life were alleviated. In proportion as agriculture was extended, mankind were multiplied with the means of subsistence. Nations, and even great ones, were formed. Some of them disdained the source of their prosperity, and were punished for that senseless pride by invasions. Upon the ruins of vast monarchies, sunk in lethargy, by the neglect of useful labours, new states arose; which having, in their turn, contracted the habit of trusting the care of their subsistence to their slaves, were not able to resist the nations stimulated either by indigence or barbarism.

SUCH was the fate of Rome. Proud of the spoils of the universe, she held in contempt the rural occupations of her founders, and of her most illustrious citizens. Her country-places were filled with delightful retreats. She subsisted only upon foreign contributions. The people, corrupted by perpetual profusions, abandoned the labours of tillage. All the useful or honour-
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able places were purchased with abundant distributions of corn. Hunger gave the law, in the comitia. All the orders of the republic were no longer governed by any thing but hunger and amusement. Then the empire fell to ruin, destroyed rather by it's internal vices, than by the barbarians who tore it to pieces.

THE contempt which the Romans had for agriculture, in the intoxication of those conquests which had given them the whole world without their cultivating it, was perpetuated. It was adopted by those savage hords, who, destroying by the sword, a power which was established by it, left to the vassals the clearing of the lands, of which they reserved to themselves the fruits, and the property. Even in the age subsequent to the discovery of the East and West Indies, this truth was unattended to; whether in Europe the people were too much engaged in wars of ambition or religion to consider it; or whether the conquests made by Portugal and Spain beyond the seas, having brought us treasures without labour, we contented ourselves with enjoying them by encouraging luxury and the arts, before any method had been thought of to secure these riches.

BUT the time came, when plunder ceased, having no object on which it could be exercised. When the conquered lands in the New World, after having been much contested for, were divided, it became necessary to cultivate them, and to support the colonists who settled there. As these were natives of Europe, they cultivated for that country such productions as it did not furnish,

nish, and required in return such provisions as custom had made natural to them. In proportion as the colonies were peopled, and as the number of sailors and manufacturers increased with the increase of productions, the lands must necessarily furnish a greater quantity of subsistence for the increase of population; and an augmentation of indigenous commodities, for foreign articles of exchange and consumption. The laborious employment of navigation, and the spoiling of provisions in the transport, causing a greater loss of materials and produce, it became necessary to cultivate the earth with the greatest care and assiduity, in order to render it more fruitful. The consumption of American commodities, far from lessening that of European productions, served only to increase and extend it upon all the seas, in all the ports, and in all the cities where commerce and industry prevailed. Thus the people who were the most commercial, necessarily became, at the same time, the greatest promoters of agriculture.

ENGLAND first conceived the idea of this new system. She established and encouraged it by honours and premiums proposed to the planters. A medal was stricken and presented to the duke of Bedford, with the following inscription: *For having planted Oak.* Triptolemus and Ceres were adored in antiquity only from similar motives; and yet temples and altars are still erected to indolent monks. The God of nature will not suffer that mankind should perish. He hath implanted in all noble and generous minds, in the hearts

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hearts of all people and of enlightened monarchs, this idea, that labour is the first duty of man, and that the most important of all labours is that of cultivating the land. The reward that attends agriculture, the satisfying of our wants, is the best encomium that can be made of it. *If I had a subject who could produce two blades of corn instead of one, said a monarch, I should prefer him to all the men of political genius in the state.* How much is it to be lamented that such a king and such an opinion are merely the fiction of Swift's brain? But a nation that can produce such writers, must necessarily confirm the truth of this sublime idea; and accordingly we find that England doubled the produce of it's cultivation.

EUROPE had this great example for more than half a century under her eyes, without it's making a sufficient impression upon her to induce her to follow it. The French, who, under the administration of three cardinals, had scarce been allowed to turn their thoughts to public affairs, ventured at length, in 1750, to write on subjects of importance and general utility. The undertaking of an universal dictionary of arts and sciences brought every great object to view, and exercised the thoughts of every man of genius and of knowledge. Montesquieu wrote the spirit of laws, and the boundaries of genius were extended. Natural history was written by a French Pliny, who surpassed Greece and Rome in the knowledge and description of nature. This history, bold and sublime as it's subject, warmed the imagination of every reader, and powerfully excited them to such

such inquiries as a nation cannot relinquish without returning into a state of barbarism. It was then that a great number of subjects became sensible of the real wants of their country. Government itself seemed to perceive that all kinds of riches originated from the earth. They granted some encouragement to agriculture, but without having the courage to remove the obstacles which prevented it's improvement.

THE French husbandman doth not yet enjoy the happiness of being taxed only in proportion to his abilities. Arbitrary imposts still molest and ruin him. Jealous or rapacious neighbours have it always in their power to exercise either their cupidity or their revenge against him. A barbarous collector, a haughty lord, an arrogant and authorized monopolist, a man raised to fortune, and who is a greater despot than all the rest, may humiliate, beat, and plunder him; they may deprive him, in a word, of all the rights of mankind, of property, of safety, and of liberty. Degraded by this kind of abject state, his cloaths, his manners, his language, become an object of derision for all the other classes of society; and authority often gives a sanction by it's conduct to this excess of extravagance.

I HAVE hear'd that stupid and ferocious statesman, and the indignation which he excited in me almost prompts me to name him, and to give up his memory to the execration of all honest and sensible men; I have hear'd him say, that the labours of the field were so hard, that if the cultivator were allowed to acquire some ease in
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his circumstances, he would forsake his plough and leave the lands untilled. His advice was therefore to perpetuate labour by misery, and to condemn to eternal indigence the man, without the sweat of whose brow he must have been starved to death. He ordered that the oxen should be fattened, while he curtailed the subsistence of the husbandman. He governed a province, and yet he did not conceive that it was the impossibility of acquiring a small degree of ease, and not the danger of fatigue, which disgusted the husbandman of his condition. He did not know that the state into which men are anxious to enter, is that which they hope to quit by the acquisition of riches; and that however hard may be the daily labours of agriculture, it will nevertheless find more votaries in proportion as the reward of it's labours shall be more certain and more abundant. He had not noticed, that in the towns there were a multitude of employments, which, although they shortened the lives of those who were engaged in them, yet this did not deter others from following them. He did not know that in some countries of vast extent, there were miners who voluntarily devoted themselves to destruction in the bowels of the earth, and that even before they were thirty years of age, upon condition of reaping from this sacrifice clothes and provisions for their wives and children. It had never suggested itself to him, that, in all professions, that sort of ease in circumstances, which admits of calling in assistance, alleviates the fatigue of them; and that inhumanly to exclude the peasant from the class

class of proprietors, was to put a stop to the progress of the first of the arts, which could not become flourishing, as long as the person who tilled the earth was obliged to till it for another. This statesman had never compared with his own immense vineyards, that small portion of vines belonging to his vine-dresser, nor know'n the difference there is between the soil cultivated for one's self, and that which is cultivated for others.

FORTUNATELY for France, all the agents of government have not had such destructive prejudices; and more fortunately still, the obstacles which impeded the improvement of the lands and of agriculture in that country have been often overcome. Germany, and after that the northern climates, have been attracted by the taste of the age, which sensible men had turned towards these great objects. These vast regions have at length understood, that the most extensive countries were of no value, if they were not rendered useful by a perseverance in labour; that the clearing of a soil extended it, and that territories the least favoured by nature, might become fertile by prudent and skilful expenditures bestowed upon them. A multiplicity and a variety of productions have been the reward of so judicious a proceeding. Nations, who have been in want of the necessaries of life, have been enabled to furnish provisions even to the southern parts of Europe.

BUT how is it possible that men situated upon so rich a territory, should have wanted foreign assistance to subsist? The great excellence of the
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territory hath been perhaps the true reason of this. In the countries which were not so favourably treated by nature, it hath been necessary that the cultivator should have considerable funds, that he should condemn himself to assiduous watchings, in order to acquire from the bosom of an ungrateful or rebellious soil, harvests moderately plentiful. Under a more fortunate sky it was only necessary for him, as it were, to scratch the earth, and this advantage hath plunged him into misery and indolence. The climate hath still increased his misfortunes, which have been completed by religious institutions.

THE sabbath, considering it even only under a political point of view, is an admirable institution. It was proper to give a stated day of rest to mankind, that they might have time to recover themselves, to lift up their eyes to heaven, to enjoy life with reflection, to meditate upon past events, to reason upon present transactions, and in some measure to form plans for the future. But by multiplying those days of inactivity hath not that which was established for the advantage of individuals and of societies, been converted into a calamity for them? Would not a soil, which should be ploughed three hundred days in the year by strong men and vigorous animals, yield double the produce of that which should only be worked one hundred and fifty days in the year. What strange infatuation! Torrents of blood have been shed an infinite number of times to prevent the dismembering of a territory or to increase it's extent; and yet the powers intrusted with

with the maintenance and happiness of empires; have patiently suffered that a priest, sometimes even a foreign priest, should invade successively one third of this territory by the proportional diminution of labour which alone could fertilize it: This inconceivable disorder hath ceased in several states; but it continues in the south of Europe. This is one of the greatest obstacles to the increase of it's subsistence and of it's population. The importance of agriculture begins however to be perceived; even Spain hath exerted herself, and for want of inhabitants, who would employ themselves in the labours of the field, she hath at least invited foreigners to till her uncultivated provinces.

NOTWITHSTANDING this almost universal emulation, it must be acknowledged that agriculture hath not made the same progress as the other arts. Since the revival of letters, the genius of men hath measured the earth, calculated the motion of the stars and weighed the air. It hath penetrated through the darkness which concealed from it the natural and moral system of the world: By investigating nature it hath discovered an infinite number of secrets; with which all the sciences have enriched themselves. It's empire hath extended itself over a multitude of objects necessary to the happiness of mankind: In this ferment of men's minds, experimental philosophy, which had but very imperfectly enlightened ancient philosophy, hath too seldom turned it's observations towards the important part of the vegetable system. The different qualities of the soil,

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the number of which is so various are still unknown, as well as the kind of soil which is the best adapted to every production, the quantity and the quality of the seeds which it is proper to sow in them; the seasons most propitious for ploughing, sowing, and reaping them, and the species of manure fit to increase their fertility. No better information is procured concerning the most advantageous manner of multiplying flocks, of breeding and of feeding them, and of improving their fleece. No greater light hath been throw'n upon the cultivation of trees. We have scarce any but imperfect notions concerning all these articles of primary necessity, such as have been transmitted to us by a blind routine, or by practice followed with little reflection. Europe would be still less advanced in this knowledge, were it not for the observations of a few English writers, who have succeeded in eradicating some prejudices, and in introducing several excellent methods. This zeal for the first of arts hath been communicated to the cultivators of their nation. Fairchild, one of them hath carried his enthusiasm so far, as to order that the dignity of his profession should be annually celebrated by a public discourse. His will was complied with for the first time in 1760, in St. Leonard's church in London, and this useful ceremony hath never been omitted since that period.

It is a fact somewhat remarkable, though it might naturally be expected, that men should have returned to the exercise of agriculture the first of the arts, only after they had successively

tried the rest. It is the common progression of the human mind, not to regain the right path, till after it hath exhausted itself in pursuing false tracks. It is always advancing; and as it relinquished agriculture, to pursue commerce and the enjoyments of luxury, it soon traversed over the different arts of life, and returned at last to agriculture, which is the source and foundation of all the rest, and to which it devoted it's whole attention, from the same motives of interest that had made it quit it before. Thus the eager and inquisitive man, who voluntarily banishes himself from his own country in his youth, wearied with his constant excursions, returns at last to live and die in his native land.

EVERY thing, indeed, depends upon, and arises from, the cultivation of land. It forms the internal strength of states; and occasions riches to circulate into them from without. Every power which comes from any other source, is artificial and precarious, either considered in a natural or moral light. Industry and commerce which do not directly affect the agriculture of a country, are in the power of foreign nations, who may either dispute these advantages through competition, or deprive the country of them through envy. This may be effected either by establishing the same branch of industry among themselves, or by suppressing the exportation of their own unwrought materials, or the exportation of those materials when manufactured. But a country well cultivated occasions an increase of population, and riches are the natural consequence of

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that increase. This is not the teeth which the dragon sows to bring forth soldiers to destroy each other; it is the milk of Juno, which peoples the heavens with an innumerable multitude of stars.

THE government, therefore, should rather be attentive to the support of the country places, than of great cities. The first may be considered as parents and nurseries always fruitful; the others only as daughters which are often ungrateful and barren. The cities can scarce subsist but from the superfluous part of the population and produce of the countries. Even the fortified places and ports of trade, which seem to be connected with the whole world by their ships, which diffuse more riches than they possess, do not, however, attract all the treasures they dispense, but by means of the produce of the countries that surround them. The tree must, therefore, be watered at it's root. The cities will only be flourishing in proportion as the fields are fruitful.

BUT this fertility depends still less upon the soil than upon the inhabitants. Some countries, though situated under a climate the most favourable to agriculture, produce less than others inferior to them in every respect, because the efforts of nature are impeded in a thousand ways by the form of their government. In all parts where the people are attached to the country by property, by the security of their funds and revenues, the lands will flourish; in all parts where privileges are not confined to the cities, and labour to the countries, every proprietor will be fond

fond of the inheritance of his ancestors, will increase and embellish it by assiduous cultivation, and his children will be multiplied in proportion to his means, and these be increased in proportion to his children.

It is, therefore, the interest of government to favour the husbandman, in preference to all the indolent classes of society. Nobility is but an odious distinction, when it is not founded upon services of real and evident utility to the state; such as the defence of the nation against the incroachments of conquest, and against the enterprises of despotism. The nobles furnish only a precarious, and oftentimes fatal assistance; when, after having led an effeminate and licentious life in the cities, they can only afford a weak defence for their country upon her fleets and in her armies, and afterwards return to court, to solicit, as a reward for their baseness, places and honours, which are revolting and burthensome to the nation. The clergy are a set of men useless, at least, to the earth, even when they are employed in prayer. But when, with scandalous morals, they preach a doctrine which is rendered doubly incredible and impracticable from their ignorance and from their example; when, after having disgraced, discredited and overturned religion, by a variety of abuses, of sophisms, of injustices and usurpations, they wish to support it by persecution; then this privileged, indolent, and turbulent class of men, become the most dreadful enemies of the state and of the nation. The only good and respectable part of them that remains, is that portion

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of the clergy who are most despised and most burthened with duty, and who being situated among the lower class of people in the country, labour, edify, advise, comfort, and relieve a multitude of unhappy men.

THE husbandmen deserve to be preferred by government, even to the manufacturers, and the professors of either the mechanical or liberal arts. To encourage and to protect the arts of luxury, and at the same time neglect the cultivation of the land, that source of industry to which they owe their existence and support, is to forget the order of the several relations between nature and society. To favour the arts, and to neglect agriculture, is the same thing as to remove the basis of a pyramid, in order to finish the top. The mechanical arts engage a sufficient number of hands by the allurements of the riches they procure, by the comforts they supply the workmen with, by the ease, pleasures, and conveniencies that arise in cities where the several branches of industry unite. It is the life of the husbandman that stands in need of encouragement for the hard labours it is exposed to, and of indemnification for the losses and vexations it sustains. The husbandman is placed at a distance from every object that can either excite his ambition, or gratify his curiosity. He lives in a state of separation from the distinctions and pleasures of society. He cannot give his children a polite education, without sending them at a distance from him, nor place them in such a situation as may enable them to distinguish and advance themselves by the fortune they may acquire.

quire. He does not enjoy the sacrifices he makes for them, while they are educated at a distance from him. In a word, he undergoes all the fatigues that are incident to man, without enjoying his pleasures, unless supported by the paternal care of government. Every thing is burthensome and humiliating to him, even the taxes, the very name of which sometimes makes his condition more wretched than any other.

MEN are naturally attached to the liberal arts by the bent of their talents, which makes this attachment grow up into a kind of passion; and likewise by the consideration they reflect on those who distinguish themselves in the pursuit of them. It is not possible to admire the works of genius, without esteeming and caressing the persons endowed with that valuable gift of nature. But the man devoted to the labours of husbandry, if he cannot enjoy in quiet what he possesses, and what he gathers; if he be incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, because the sweets of it are taken from him; if the military service, if vassalage and taxes are to deprive him of his child, his cattle, and his corn, nothing remains for him, but to imprecate both the sky and the land that torment him, and to abandon his fields and his country.

A WISE government cannot therefore refuse to pay it's principal attention to agriculture, without endangering it's very existence: the most ready and effectual means of assisting it, is to favour the multiplication of every kind of production, by the most free and general circulation.

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AN unrestrained liberty in the exchange of commodities renders a people at the same time commercial and attentive to agriculture; it extends the views of the farmer towards trade, and those of the merchant towards cultivation. It connects them to each other by such relations as are regular and constant. All men belong equally to the villages and to the cities, and there is a reciprocal communication maintained between the provinces. The circulation of commodities brings on in reality the golden age, in which streams of milk and honey are said to have flowed through the plains. All the lands are cultivated; the meadows are favourable to tillage by the cattle they feed; the growth of corn promotes that of vines, by furnishing a constant and certain subsistence to him who neither sows nor reaps, but plants, prunes, and gathers.

LET us now consider the effects of a contrary system, and attempt to regulate agriculture, and the circulation of its produce, by particular laws; and let us observe what calamities will ensue. Power will not only be desirous of observing and being informed of every action, but will even want to assume every important act to itself, in consequence of which nothing will succeed. Men will be led like their cattle, or transported like their corn; they will be collected and dispersed at the will of a tyrant, to be slaughtered in war, or perish upon fleets, or in different colonies. That which constitutes the life of a state will become its destruction. Neither the lands, nor the people will prosper, and the states will tend quickly to their

their dissolution; that is, to that separation which is always preceded by the massacre of the people, as well as their tyrants. What will then become of manufactures?

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AGRICULTURE gives birth to the arts, when it is carried to that degree of plenty, which gives men leisure to invent, and procure themselves the conveniencies of life; and when it has occasioned a population sufficiently numerous to be employed in other labours, beside those of the land, then a people must necessarily become either soldiers, navigators, or manufacturers. As soon as war has changed the rude and savage manners of a laborious people; as soon as it has nearly circumscribed the extent of their empire, those men who were before engaged in the exercise of arms, must then apply themselves to the management of the oar, the ropes, the scissars, or the shuttle; in a word, of all the instruments of commerce and industry; for the land, which supported such a number of men without the assistance of their own labour, does not any more stand in need of it. As the arts ever have a country of their own, their peculiar place of refuge, where they are carried on and flourish in tranquillity, it is easier to repair thither in search of them, than to wait at home till they shall have grow'n up, and advanced with the tardy progression of ages, and the favour of chance which presides over the discoveries of genius. Thus every nation of Europe that has had any industry, has borrowed the most considerable share of

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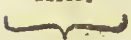
of the arts from Asia. There invention seems to have been coëval with mankind.

THE beauty and fertility of those climates hath always produced a most numerous race of people, as well as abundance of fruits of all kinds. There laws and arts, the offspring of genius and tranquillity, have arisen from the stability of empires; and luxury, the source of every enjoyment that attends industry, has sprung out of the richness of the soil. India, China, Persia, and Egypt were in possession not only of all the treasures of nature, but also of the most brilliant inventions of art. War in these countries hath often destroyed every monument of genius, but they rise again out of their own ruins, as well as mankind. Not unlike those laborious swarms we see perish in their hives by the wintry blast of the north, and which reproduce themselves in spring, retaining still the same love of toil and order; there are certain Asiatic nations which have still preserved the arts of luxury with the materials that supply them, notwithstanding the invasions and conquests of the Tartars.

It was in a country successively subdued by the Scythians, Romans, and Saracens, that the nations of Europe, which not even christianity nor time could civilize, recovered the arts and sciences without endeavouring to discover them. The Crusades exhausted the fanatic zeal of those who engaged in them, and changed their barbarous manners at Constantinople. It was by journeying to visit the tomb of their Saviour, who was born in a manger, and died on a cross, that they acquired

quired a taste for magnificence, pomp, and wealth. By them the Asiatic grandeur was introduced into the courts of Europe. Italy, the seat from whence religion spread her empire over other countries, was the first to adopt a species of industry that was of benefit to her temples, the ceremonies of her worship, and those processions which serve to keep up devotion by means of the senses, when once it has engaged the heart, Christian Rome, after having borrowed her rites from the Eastern nations, was still to draw from thence the wealth by which they are supported.

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VENICE, whose gallies were ranged under the banner of liberty, could not fail of being industrious. The people of Italy established manufactures, and were a long time in possession of all the arts, even when the conquest of the East and West Indies had caused the treasures of the whole world to circulate in Europe. Flanders derived her manual arts from Italy; England obtained those she established from Flanders; and France borrowed the general industry of all countries. Of the English she purchased her stocking-looms, which work ten times as fast as the needle. The number of hands unoccupied from the introduction of the loom, were employed in making of lace, which was taken from the Flemings. Paris surpassed Persia in her carpets, and Flanders in her tapestry, in the elegance of her patterns, and the beauty of her dyes; and excelled Venice in the transparency and size of her mirrors. France learned to dispense with part of the silks she received from Italy, and with English broad cloths.

Germany,

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Germany, together with her iron and copper mines, has always preserved the superiority she had acquired in melting, tempering, and working up those metals. But the art of giving the polish and fashion to every article that can be concerned in the ornaments of luxury, and the conveniences of life, seems to belong peculiarly to the French; whether it be that, from the vanity of pleasing others, they find the means of succeeding by all the outward appearances of brilliant shew; or that in reality grace and ease are the constant attendants of a people naturally lively and gay, and who by instinct are in possession of taste.

EVERY people given to agriculture ought to have arts to employ their materials, and should multiply their productions to maintain their artists. Were they acquainted only with the labours of the field, their industry must be confined in it's cause, it's means, and it's effects. Having but few wants and desires, they would exert themselves but little, employ fewer hands, and work less time. Their cultivation would neither be extended nor improved. Should such a people be possessed of more arts than materials, they must be indebted to strangers, who would ruin their manufactures, by sinking the price of their articles of luxury, and raising the value of their subsistence. But when a people, engaged in agriculture, join industry to property, the culture of their produce to the art of working it up, they have then within themselves every thing necessary for their existence and preservation, every source
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of greatness and prosperity. Such a people is endowed with a power of accomplishing every thing they wish, and stimulated with a desire of acquiring every thing that is possible.

NOTHING is more favourable to liberty than the arts; it may be said to be their element, and that they are, in their nature, citizens of the world. An able artist may work in every country, because he works for the world in general. Genius and abilities every where avoid slavery; while soldiers find it in all parts. When, through the want of toleration in the clergy, the Protestants were driven out of France, they opened to themselves a refuge in every civilized state in Europe: but priests, banished from their own country, have found no asylum any where; not even in Italy, the parent of monachism and intolerance.

THE arts multiply the means of acquiring riches, and contribute, by a greater distribution of wealth, to a more equitable repartition of property. Thus is prevented that excessive inequality among men, the unhappy consequence of oppression, tyranny, and lethargic state of a whole people.

How many objects of instruction and admiration doth not the most enlightened man find in manufactures and workshops! To study the productions of nature is undoubtedly beautiful; but is it not more interesting to know the different means made use of by the arts, either to alleviate the misfortunes, or to increase the enjoyments of life? Should we be in search of genius, let us go into the workshops, and there we shall find it
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under a thousand different forms. If one man alone had been the inventor of the manufacture for figured stuffs, he would have displayed more intelligence than Leibnitz or Newton: and I may venture to say, that there is no problem in the mathematical principles of the latter, more difficult to be solved, than that of weaving a thread by the assistance of a machine. Is it not a shameful thing, to see the objects which surround us viewing themselves in a glass, while they are unacquainted with the manner in which glass is melted; or cloathing themselves in velvet to keep out the cold, while they know not how it is manufactured? Let men who are well informed, go and assist with their knowledge the wretched artisan, condemned blindly to follow the routine he has been used to, and they may be certain of being indemnified by the secrets he will impart to them. The torch of industry serves to enlighten at once a vast horizon. No art is single: the greater part of them have their forms, modes, instruments, and elements, that are peculiar to them. The mechanics themselves have contributed prodigiously to extend the study of mathematics. Every branch of the genealogical tree of science has unfolded itself with the progress of the arts, as well liberal as manual. Mines, mills, the manufacture and dying of cloth, have enlarged the sphere of philosophy and natural history. Luxury has given rise to the art of enjoyment, which is entirely dependent on the liberal arts. As soon as architecture admits of ornaments without, it brings with it decorations for the inside of our houses;

houses; while sculpture and painting are at the same time employed in the embellishment and adorning of the edifice. The art of design is applied to our dress and furniture. The pencil, ever fertile in new designs, is varying without end its sketches and shades on our stuffs and our porcelain. The powers of genius are exerted in composing at leisure master-pieces of poetry and eloquence, or those happy systems of policy and philosophy, which restore to the people their natural rights, and to sovereigns all their glory, which consists in reigning over the heart and the mind, over the opinion and will of their subjects, by the means of reason and equity.

THEN it is that the arts produce that spirit of society which constitutes the happiness of civil life; which gives relaxation to the more serious occupations, by entertainments, shews, concerts, conversations, in short, by every species of agreeable amusement. Ease gives to every virtuous enjoyment an air of liberty, which connects and mingles the several ranks of men. Employment adds a value or a charm to the pleasures that are its recompence. Every citizen depending upon the produce of his industry for subsistence, has leisure for all the agreeable or toilsome occupations of life, as well as that repose of mind which leads on to the sweets of sleep. Many, indeed, fall victims to avarice, but still less than to war or superstition, the continual scourges of an idle people.


AFTER the cultivation of the land, the encouragement of the arts and sciences is the next object

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ject that deserves the attention of man. At present, both serve to constitute the strength of civilized governments. If the arts have tended to weaken mankind, then the weaker people must have prevailed over the strong; for the balance of Europe is in the hands of those nations which are in possession of the arts.

SINCE manufactures have prevailed in Europe, the human heart, as well as the mind, have changed their bent and disposition. The desire of wealth has arisen in all parts from the love of pleasure. We no longer see any people satisfied with being poor, because poverty is no longer the bulwark of liberty. We are obliged, indeed, to confess, that the arts in this world supply the place of virtues. Industry may give birth to vices; but it banishes, however, those of idleness, which are infinitely more dangerous. As information gradually dispels every species of fanaticism, while men are employed in the gratifications of luxury, they do not destroy one another through superstition. At least, human blood is never spilt without some appearance of interest, and war, probably, destroys only those violent and turbulent men, who in every state are born to be enemies to, and disturbers of all order, without any other talent, any other propensity, than that of doing mischief. The arts restrain that spirit of dissension, by subjecting man to stated and daily employments. They bestow on every rank of life the means and the hopes of enjoyment, and give even the meanest a kind of estimation and importance, by the advantage that results from them.

them. A workman at forty has been of more real value to the state than a whole family of vassals who were employed in tillage under the old feudal system. An opulent manufacture brings more benefit into a village, than twenty castles of ancient barons, whether hunters or warriors, ever conferred on their province.

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If it be a fact, that in the present state of things, the people who are the most industrious ought to be the most happy and the most powerful, either because in wars that are unavoidable they furnish of themselves, or purchase by their wealth, more soldiers, more ammunition, more forces, both for sea or land service; or that having a greater interest in maintaining peace, they avoid contests, or terminate them by negotiation; or that, in case of a defeat, they the more readily repair their losses by the effect of labour; or that they are blessed with a milder and more enlightened government, notwithstanding the means of corruption and slavery that tyranny is supplied with, by the effeminacy which luxury produces; in a word, if the arts really civilize nations, a state ought to neglect no opportunity of making manufactures flourish.

THESE opportunities depend on the climate, which, as Polybius says, forms the character, complexion, and manners of nations. The most temperate climate must necessarily be the most favourable to that kind of industry which requires less exertion. If the climate be too hot, it is inconsistent with the establishment of manufactures, which require the concurrence of several persons

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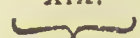
together to carry on the same work; and it excludes all those arts which employ furnaces, or strong lights. If the climate prove too cold, it is not proper for those arts which can only be carried on in the open air. At too great or too small a distance from the equator, man is unfit for several labours, which seem peculiarly adapted to a mild temperature. In vain did Peter the Great search among the best regulated states for all such arts as were best calculated to civilize his people: during a period of fifty years, not one of these principles of civilization has been able to flourish among the frozen regions of Russia. All artists are strangers in that land, and if they endeavour to reside there, their talents and their works soon die with them. When Lewis XIV., in his old age (as if that were the time of life for proscriptions) persecuted the Protestants, in vain did they introduce their arts and trades among the people who received them; they were no longer able to work in the same manner as they had done in France. Though they were equally active and laborious, the arts they had introduced were lost, or they declined, from not having the advantage of the same climate and heat to animate them.

To the favourable disposition of climate, for the encouragement of manufactures, should be added the advantage of the political situation of the state. When it is of such extent as to have nothing to fear or want in point of security; when it is in the neighbourhood of the sea for the landing of its materials, and the exportation of its manufactures;

manufactures ; when it is situated between powers that have iron mines to employ it's industry, and others that have mines of gold to reward it ; when it has nations on each side, with ports and roads open on every side ; such a state will have all the external advantages necessary to excite a people to open a variety of manufactures.

BUT one advantage still more essential is fertility of soil. If cultivation should require too many hands, there will be a want of labourers, or the manufacturers will employ so many hands, that there will not be men enough to cultivate the fields ; and this must occasion a dearth of provisions, which, while it raises the price of workmanship, will also diminish the number of trades.

WHERE fertility of soil is wanting, manufactures require, at least, as few men to be employed as possible. A nation that should expend much on it's mere subsistence, would absorb the whole profits of it's industry. When the gratifications of luxury are greater or more expensive than the means of supplying them, the source from which they are derived is lost, and they can no longer be supported. If the workman will feed and clothe himself like the manufacturer who employs him, the manufacture is soon ruined. The degree of frugality that republican nations adhere to from motives of virtue, the manufacturer ought to observe from views of parsimony. This may be the reason, perhaps, that the arts, even those of luxury, are more adapted to republics than monarchies ; for, under monarchical institutions, po-

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verty is not always the sharpest spur with the people to industry. Labour, proceeding from hunger, is narrow and confined, like the appetite it springs from; but the work that arises from ambition spreads and increases as naturally as the vice itself.

NATIONAL character has considerable influence over the progress of the arts of luxury and ornament. Some people are fitted for invention by that levity which naturally inclines them to novelty. The same nation is fitted for the arts, by their vanity, which inclines them to the ornament of dress. Another nation, less lively, has less taste for trivial matters, and is not fond of changing fashions. Being of a more serious turn, these people are more inclined to indulge in excesses of the table, and to drinking, which relieves them from all anxiety and apprehension. Of these nations, the one must succeed better than its rival in the arts of decoration, and must have the preference over it among all the other nations which are fond of the same arts.

THE advantages which manufactures derive from nature, are further seconded by the form of government. While industry is favourable to national liberty, that in return should assist industry. Exclusive privileges are enemies to commerce and the arts, which are to be encouraged only by competition. Even the rights of apprenticeship, and the value set on corporations, are a kind of monopoly. The state is prejudiced by that sort of privilege which favours incorporated trades; that is to say, petty communities are protected at
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the expence of the greater body. By taking from the lower class of the people the liberty of choosing the profession that suits them, every profession is filled with bad workmen. Such as require greater talents are exercised by those who are the most wealthy; the meaner, and less expensive, fall often to the share of men born to excel in some superior art. As both are engaged in a profession for which they have no taste, they neglect their work, and prejudice the art: the first, because they have no abilities; the latter, because they are convinced that their abilities are superior to it. But if we remove the impediment of corporate bodies, we shall produce a competition in the workmen, and consequently the work will increase as well as be more perfect.

It may be a question, whether it be beneficial to collect manufactures in large towns, or to disperse them over the country. This point is determined by facts. The arts of primary necessity have remained where they were first produced, in those places which have furnished the materials for them. Forges are in the neighbourhood of the mine, and linen near the flax. But the complicated arts of industry and luxury cannot be carried on in the country. If we disperse over a large extent of territory all the arts which are combined in watch and clock-making, we shall ruin Geneva, with all the works that support it. If we disperse among the different provinces of France, the sixty thousand workmen who are employed in the stuff manufactory of Lyons, we shall annihilate taste, which is kept up only by the



the competition of a great number of rivals, who are constantly employed in endeavouring to surpass each other. The perfection of stuffs requires their being made in a town, where fine dyes may at once be united with beautiful patterns, and the art of working up woollens and silks with that of making gold and silver lace. If there be wanting eighteen hands to make a pin, through how many manual arts, and artificers, must a laced coat, or an embroidered waistcoat pass? How shall we be able to find, amidst an interior central province, the immense apparatus of arts that contribute to the furnishing of a palace, or the entertainments of a court. Those arts, therefore, that are most simple and unconnected with others, must be confined to the country; and such clothes as are fit for the lower class of people must be made in the provinces. We must establish between the capital and the other towns a reciprocal dependence of wants and conveniences, of materials and works; but still nothing must be done by authority or compulsion; workmen must be left to act for themselves. Let there be freedom of traffic, and freedom of industry, and manufactures will prosper, population will increase.

Population.

HAS the world been more peopled at one time than another? This is not to be ascertained from history, on account of the deficiency of historians in one half of the globe that has been inhabited, and because one half of what is related by historians is fabulous. Who has ever taken, or could at any time take, an account of the inhabitants of
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the earth? She was, it is said, more fruitful in earlier times. But when was the period of this golden age? Was it when a dry sand arose from the bed of the sea, purged itself in the rays of the sun; and caused the slime to produce vegetables, animals, and human creatures? But the whole surface of the earth must alternately have been covered by the ocean. The earth has then always had, like the individuals of every species, an infant state, a state of weakness and sterility, before she arrived at the age of fertility. All countries have been for a long time buried under water, lying uncultivated beneath sands and morasses, wild and overgrow'n with bushes and forests, till the human species, being throw'n by accident on these deserts and solitudes, has cleared, altered, and peopled the land. But as all the causes of population are subordinate to those natural laws which govern the universe, as well as to the influences of soil and atmosphere, which are subject to a number of calamities, it must ever have varied with those periods of nature that have been either adverse or favourable to the increase of mankind. However, as the lot of every species seems in a manner to depend on it's faculties, the history of the progress and improvement of human industry must therefore, in general, supply us with the history of the population of the earth. On this ground of calculation, it is at least doubtful, whether the world was formerly better inhabited and more peopled than it is at present.

LET us leave Asia under the veil of that antiquity which reports it to us ever covered with innumerable nations, and swarms of people so prodigious, that (notwithstanding the fertility of a soil which stands in need but of one ray of the sun to enable it to produce all sorts of fruit) men did but just arise, and succeed one another with the utmost rapidity, and were destroyed either by famine, pestilence, or war. Let us consider with more attention the population of Europe, which seems to have taken the place of Asia, by conferring upon art all the powers of nature.

IN order to determine whether our continent was, in former ages, more inhabited than at present, it would be necessary to know whether public security was better established at that time; whether the arts were in a more flourishing condition, and whether the land was better cultivated. This is what we must investigate.

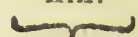
FIRST, in these distant periods, the political institutions were very defective. Those ill-regulated governments were agitated with continual factions. The civil wars which sprang from these divisions were frequent and cruel. It often happened that one half of the people were massacred by the other half. Those citizens who had escaped the sword of the conqueror took refuge upon an unfavourable territory. From that asylum they did every possible mischief to an implacable enemy, till a new revolution enabled them to take memorable and complete vengeance for the calamities which they had endured.

THE arts had not more vigour than the laws. Commerce was so limited, as to be reduced to the exchange of a small number of productions peculiar to some territories, and to some climates. The manufactures were so little varied, that both the sexes were equally obliged to clothe themselves with a woollen stuff, which even was but seldom dyed. All the branches of industry were so little advanced, that there did not exist a single city which was indebted to them for it's increase, or it's prosperity. This was the effect and the cause of the general contempt in which these several occupations were holden.

It was difficult for commodities to find a certain and advantageous vent, in regions where the arts were in a languid state. Accordingly, agriculture 'felt the effects of this want of consumption. It is a certain proof, that most of these fine countries remained untilld, because the climate was evidently more rude than it hath since been. If immense forests had not deprived the countries of the influence of the beneficent planet which animates every thing, would our ancestors have had more to suffer from the rigour of the season than ourselves?

THESE facts, which cannot reasonably be called in question, demonstrate that the number of men was then very much limited in Europe; and that excepting one or two countries, which may have fallen off from their antient population, all the rest had only a few inhabitants?

WHAT were those multitudes of people which Cæsar reckoned in Gaul, but a set of savage nations,

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tions, more formidable in name than number? Were all those Britons, who were subdued in their island by two Roman legions, much more numerous than the Corsicans at present? Must not the North have been still less peopled? Regions where the sun scarce appears above the horizon; where the course of the waters is suspended for eight months in the year; where heaps of snow cover, for the same space of time, a soil frequently barren; where trees are rooted up by the winds; where the corn, the plants, and the springs, every thing which contributes to the support of life, is in a state of annihilation; where the bodies of all men are afflicted with pain; where rest, more fatal than the most excessive fatigues, is followed by the most dreadful calamities; where the arms of children are stiffened, while they are stretching them up to their mothers; and where their tears are converted to icicles on their cheeks; where nature Such regions could only have been inhabited at some late period, and then only by some unfortunate people, flying from slavery or tyranny. They have never multiplied under so intemperate a sky. Over the face of the whole globe, numerous societies have always left behind them some durable monuments or ruins, but in the North there are absolutely no remains which bear the impression of human power or industry.

THE conquest of the finest part of Europe, in the space of three or four centuries, by the inhabitants of the most northern nations, seems at first sight to argue against what we have been saying.

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But let us consider, that these were the people of a territory ten times as large, who possessed themselves of a country inhabited at present by three or four nations only; and that it was not owing to the number of her conquerors, but to the revolt of her subjects, that the Roman empire was destroyed and reduced to subjection. In this astonishing revolution, we may readily admit that the victorious nations did not amount to one twentieth part of those that were conquered; because the former made their attacks with half their numbers of effective men, and the latter employed no more than the hundredth part of their inhabitants in their defence. But a people, who engage entirely in their own defence and support, are more powerful than ten armies raised by kings and princes.

BESIDES, those long and bloody wars, with the accounts of which ancient history is replete, are destructive of that excessive population they seem to prove. If, on the one hand, the Romans endeavoured to supply the losses their armies sustained in consequence of the victories they obtained, that desire of conquest to which they were devoted, destroyed at least other nations; for as soon as the Romans had subdued any people, they incorporated them into their own armies, and exhausted their strength as much by recruits, as by the tribute they imposed upon them. It is well known with what rage wars were carried on by the ancients; that often in a siege, the whole town was laid in ashes; men, women, and children perished in the flames, rather than fall under the dominion of the conqueror;

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queror; that in assaults, every inhabitant was put to the sword; that in regular engagements, it was thought more desirable to die sword in hand, than to be led in triumph, and be condemned to perpetual slavery. Were not these barbarous customs of war injurious to population? If, as we must allow, some unhappy men were preserved to be the victims of slavery, this was but of little service to the increase of mankind, as it established in a state an extreme inequality of conditions among beings by nature equal. If the division of societies into small colonies or states, were adapted to multiply families by the partition of lands; it likewise more frequently occasioned contests among the nations; and as these small states touched one another, as it were, in an infinite number of points, in order to defend them, every inhabitant was obliged to take up arms. Large bodies are not easily put into motion on account of their bulk; small ones are in perpetual motion, which entirely destroys them.

IF war were destructive of population in antient times, peace was not always able to promote and restore it. Formerly all nations were ruled by despotic or aristocratic power, and these two forms of government are by no means favourable to the increase of the human species. The free cities of Greece were subject to laws so complicated, that there were continual dissensions among the citizens. Even the inferior class of people, who had no right of voting, obtained a superiority in the public assemblies, where a man of talents, by the power of eloquence, might put so many men
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into commotion. Besides, in these states population tended to be confined to the city, in conjunction with ambition, power, riches, and in short, all the effects and springs of liberty. Not but that the lands under the democratical states must have been well cultivated and well peopled. But the democracies were few; and as they were all ambitious, and could only aggrandize themselves by war, if we except Athens, whose commerce, indeed, was also owing to the superiority of its arms, the earth could not long flourish and increase in population. In a word, Greece and Italy were at least the only countries better peopled than they are at present.

EXCEPT in Greece, which repelled, restrained, and subdued Asia; in Carthage, which appeared for a moment on the borders of Africa, and soon declined to its former state; and in Rome, which brought into subjection and destroyed the known world; where do we find such a degree of population, as will bear any comparison with what a traveller meets with every day, on every sea-coast along all the great rivers, and on the roads leading to capital cities? What vast forests are turned to tillage? What harvests are waving in the place of reeds that covered marshy grounds? What numbers of civilized people who subsist on dried fish, and salted provisions?

NOTWITHSTANDING this, there hath arisen, for some years past, an almost general exclamation respecting the depopulation of all states. We think we can discover the cause of these strange exclamations. Men, pressing, as it were, one

upon the other, have left behind them some regions less inhabited; and the different distribution of mankind hath been taken for a diminution of the human race.

DURING a long series of ages, empires were divided into so many sovereignties, as there were private noblemen in them. Then these subjects, or the slaves of these petty despots were fixed, and that for ever, upon the territory where they were born. At the abolition of the feudal system, when there remained no more than one master, one king, and one court, all men crowded to that spot, from whence favours, riches, and honour flowed. Such was the origin of those proud capitals, where the people have been successively heaped one upon another, and which are gradually become, in a manner, the general assembly of each nation.

OTHER cities, less extensive, but still very considerable, have also been raised in each province, in proportion as the supreme authority hath been confirmed. They have been formed by the tribunals, public business, and the arts, and they have been constantly more and more increased, by the taste for the conveniencies and pleasures of society.

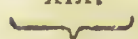
THESE new establishments could not be formed but at the expence of the country places. Accordingly, there are scarce any inhabitants remaining there, except such as were necessary for the tilling of the lands, and for the employments that are inseparable from it. The productions have not felt the effect of this revolution; they are

are even become more abundant, more varied, and more agreeable; because more of them have been sought after, and better paid: because the methods, and the instruments, have acquired a degree of simplicity and of improvement they had not formerly; and because the cultivators, encouraged in a variety of ways, have become more active and more intelligent.

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IN the police, in the morals, and in the politics, of the moderns, we may discern many causes of propagation that did not exist among the antients: but at the same time, we observe likewise some impediments which may prevent or diminish among us that sort of progress, which, in our species, should be most conducive to it's being raised to the greatest degree of perfection. For population will never be very considerable, unless men are more numerous and more happy.

POPULATION depends, in a great measure, on the distribution of landed property. Families are multiplied in the same manner as possessions, and when these are too large, they are always injurious to population from their inordinate extent. A man of considerable property, working only for himself, sets apart one half of his lands for his income, and the other for his pleasures. All he appropriates to hunting, is a double loss in point of cultivation, for he breeds animals on the land that should be appropriated to men, instead of subsisting men on the land which is appropriated to animals. Wood is necessary in a country for edifices and fuel: but is there any occasion for so many avenues

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avenues in a park ; or for parterres, and kitchen-gardens, of such extent as belong to a large estate ? In this case, does luxury, which in it's magnificence contributes to the support of the arts, prove as favourable to the increase of mankind, as it might by employing the land to better purposes ? Too many large estates, therefore, and too few small ones ; this is the first impediment to population.

THE next obstacle, is the unalienable domains of the clergy : when so much property remains for ever in the same hands, how shall population flourish, while it entirely depends upon the improvement of lands by the increase of shares among different proprietors. What interest has the incumbent to increase the value of an estate he is not to transmit to any successor, to sow or plant for a posterity not derived from himself ? Far from diminishing his income to improve his lands, will he not rather impair the estate, in order to increase the rents which he is to enjoy only for life ?

THE entails of estates in great families are not less prejudicial to the propagation of mankind. They lessen at once both the nobility and the other ranks of people. As the right of primogeniture among the great, sacrifices the younger children to the interest of the elder branch ; in the same manner entails destroy several families for the sake of a single one. Almost all entailed estates are ill cultivated, on account of the negligence of a proprietor who is not attached to a possession he is not to dispose of, which has been
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ceded to him only with regret, and which is already given to his successors, whom he cannot consider as his heirs, because they are not named by him. The right of primogeniture and of entail is therefore a law, one may say, made on purpose to defeat the increase of population in any state.

FROM these obstacles to population, produced by the defect of legislation, there arises a third, which is the poverty of the people. Wherever the farmers have not the property of the ground-rent, their life is miserable, and their condition precarious. Not being certain of their subsistence, which depends on their health, having but small reliance on their strength, which is not at their own disposal, and weary of their existence, they are afraid of breeding a race of wretched beings. It is an error to imagine that plenty of children are produced in the country, where there die as many, if not more, than are born every year. The toil of the father, and the milk of the mother are lost to them, and their children; for they will never attain to the flower of their age, or to that period of maturity, which, by its services, will recompence all the pains that have been bestowed upon their education. With a small portion of land, the mother might bring up her child, and cultivate her own little garden, while the father, by his labour abroad, might add to the conveniencies of his family. These three beings, without property, languish upon the little that one of them gains, or the child perishes.

WHAT a variety of evils arise from a faulty or defective legislation? Vices and calamities are infinite in their effects, they mutually assist each other in spreading general destruction, and arise from one another, till they are both exhausted. The indigence of the country produces an increase of troops, a burthen ruinous in it's nature, destructive of men in time of war, and of land in time of peace. It is certain that the military destroy the fields, which they do not cultivate themselves; because every soldier deprives the state of a husbandman, and burthens it with an idle or useless consumer. He defends the country in time of peace, merely from a pernicious system, which, under the pretext of defence, makes all nations aggressors. If all governments would, as as they easily might, let those men, whom they devote to the army, be employed in the labours of husbandry, the number of husbandmen and artisans, throughout Europe, would, in a short time, be considerably increased. All the powers of human industry would be exerted in improving the advantages of nature, and in surmounting every obstacle to improvement; every thing would concur in promoting life, not in spreading destruction.

THE deserts of Russia would be cleared, and the plains of Poland not laid waste. The vast dominions of the Turks would be cultivated, and the blessings of their Prophet would be extended over an immense population. Egypt, Syria, and Palestine would again become what they were in the times of the Phenicians, in the days of their

Shepherd kings, and of the Jews; who enjoyed happiness and peace under their judges. The parched mountains of Sierra Morena would be rendered fertile, the heaths of Aquitaine would be cleared of insects and be covered with people.

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BUT general good is merely the delusive dream of benevolent men. This brings to my remembrance the virtuous prelate of Cambray, and the good Abbé of St. Pierre. Their works are composed with a design to make deserts inhabited, not indeed with hermits, who fly from the vices and misfortunes of the world, but with happy families, who would proclaim the glory of God upon earth, as the stars declare it in the firmament. Their writings abound with social views and sentiments of humanity, and may be considered as truly inspired; for humanity is the gift of heaven. Kings will insure the attachment of their people, in proportion as they themselves are attached to such men.

IT is scarce necessary to observe, that one of the means to favour population, is to suppress the celibacy of the regular and secular clergy. Monastic institutions have a reference to two æras remarkable in the history of the world. About the year 700 of Rome, Jesus Christ was the founder of a new religion in the East; and the subversion of Paganism was soon attended with that of the Roman empire itself. Two or three hundred years after the death of Christ, Egypt and Palestine were filled with monks. About the year 700 of the Christian æra, Mohammed appeared, and

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established a new religion in the East; and Christianity was transferred to Europe, where it fixed. Three or four hundred years afterwards, there arose multitudes of religious orders. At the time of the birth of Christ, the books of David, and those of the Sybil, foretold the destruction of the world, a deluge, or rather an universal conflagration, and general judgment: and all people, oppressed by the dominion of the Romans, wished for and believed in a general dissolution. A thousand years after the Christian æra, the books of David, and those of the Sybil, still announced the last judgment: and several penitents, as ferocious and wild in their extravagant piety as in their vices, sold all their possessions to go to conquer and die upon the tomb of their redeemer. The nations groaning under the tyranny of the feudal government, wished for, and still believed in, the end of the world.

WHILE one part of the Christian world, impressed with terror, went to perish in the crusades, another part were burying themselves in cloisters. This was the origin of the monastic life in Europe. Opinion gave rise to monks, and it will be the cause of their destruction. The estates they possessed, they will leave behind them for the use and increase of society: and all those hours, that are lost in praying without devotion, will be consecrated to their primitive intention, which is labour. The clergy are to remember that, in the sacred scriptures, God says to man, in a state of innocence, Increase and multiply: to man, in a fallen state, Till the earth, and

work

work for thy subsistence. If the duties of the priesthood seem yet to allow the priest to incumber himself with the care of a family and an estate, the duties of society more strongly forbid celibacy. If the monks, in earlier times, cleared the deserts they inhabited, they now contribute to depopulate the towns where their number is very great: if the clergy has subsisted on the alms of the people, they in their turn reduce the people to beggary. Among the idle classes of society, the most prejudicial is that which, from it's very principles, must tend to promote a general spirit of indolence among men; make them waste at the altar, as well the work of the bees, as the salary of the workmen; which burns in day-time the candles that ought to be reserved for the night, and makes men lose in the church that time they owe to the care of their families; which engages men to ask of heaven the subsistence that the ground only can give, or produce in return for their toil.

THERE is still another cause of the depopulation of some states; which is, that want of toleration which persecutes and proscribes every religion but that of the prince on the throne. This is a species of oppression and tyranny peculiar to modern politics, to extend it's influence even over men's thoughts and consciences: a barbarous piety, which, for the sake of exterior forms of worship, extinguishes, in some degree, the very idea of the existence of God, by destroying multitudes of his worshippers: it is an impiety still more barbarous, that, on account of things so indifferent as religious

ceremonies must appear, destroys the life of man, and impedes the population of states, which should be considered as points of the utmost importance. For neither the number nor the allegiance of subjects is increased by exacting oaths contrary to conscience, by forcing into secret perjury those who are engaged in the marriage ties, or in the different professions of a citizen. Unity in religion is proper only when it is naturally established by conviction. When once that is at an end, a general liberty, if granted, would be the means of restoring tranquillity and peace of mind. When no distinction is made, but this liberty is fully and equally extended to every citizen, it can never disturb the peace of families.

NEXT to the celibacy of the clergy and of the military, the former of which arises from profession, the latter from custom, there is a third, derived from convenience, and introduced by luxury. I mean that of life annuitants. Here we may admire the chain of causes. At the same time that commerce favours population by the means of industry both by land and sea, by all the objects and operations of navigation, and by the several arts of cultivation and manufactures, it also decreases it by reason of all those vices which luxury introduces. When riches have gained a general ascendant over the minds of men, then opinions and manners alter by the intermixture of ranks. The arts and the talents of pleasing corrupt society, while they polish it. When the intercourse between the sexes becomes frequent, they mutually seduce each other, and the weaker induce

duce the stronger to adopt the frivolous turn for dress and amusement. The women become children, and the men effeminate. Entertainments are the sole topic of their conversation, and the object of their occupation. The manly and robust exercises, by which the youth were trained up to discipline, and prepared for the most important and dangerous professions, give place to the love of public shews, where every passion that can render a nation effeminate is caught, as long as there is no appearance of a patriotic spirit among them. Indolence prevails among all persons of easy circumstances, and labour diminishes among that class of men destined to be employed in it. The variety of arts multiplies fashions, and these increase our expences; articles of luxury become necessary; what is superfluous is looked upon as needful; and people in general are better dressed, but do not live so well; and purchase clothes at the expence of the necessaries of life. The lower class of men become debauched before they are sensible of the passion of love, and marrying later, have fewer or weaker children: the tradesman seeks a fortune not a wife, and he prematurely loses both the one and the other, in the excesses of libertinism. The rich, whether married or not, are continually seducing women of every rank, or debauching girls of low condition. The difficulty of supporting the charges of marriage, and the readiness of finding the joys of it without bearing any of its disagreeable inconveniences, tends to increase the number of unmarried people in every class of life. The man

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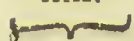
who renounces the hope of being the father of a family, consumes his patrimony, and in concert with the state, which increases his income, by borrowing money from him at a ruinous interest, he lavishes upon one generation the support of many; he extinguishes his own posterity as well as that of the women by whom he is rewarded, and that of the girls who are paid by him. Every kind of prostitution prevails at the same time. Honour and duty is forfeited in every rank; the ruin of the women is but the forerunner of that of the men.

THE nation that is inclined to gallantry, or rather to libertinism, soon loses its power and credit in other countries, and is ruined at home. There is no longer any nobility, no longer any body of men to defend their own or the people's rights; for every where division and self-interest prevails. No one wishes to be ruined alone. The love of riches becomes the general object of attraction, the honest man is apprehensive of losing his fortune, and the man of no honour is intent upon making his: the one retires from the world, the other sets himself up to sale, and thus the state is lost. Such is the constant progress of commerce in a monarchical government. What its effects are in a republic we know from ancient history. But still it is necessary at this period to excite men to commerce, because the present situation of Europe is favourable to it, and commerce itself promotes population.

BUT it will be asked, whether a great degree of population be useful in promoting the happiness
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of mankind. This is an idle question. In fact, BOOK
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It is to be presumed from what we know of Taxes. the state of the savages, that the advantage of not being confined by the restraints of our ridiculous cloathing, the unwholesome inclosure of superb edifices, and the complicated tyranny of our customs, laws, and manners, is not a compensation for a precarious life, for contusions received, and perpetual combats engaged for a portion of a forest, for a cavern, a bow, an arrow, a fruit, a fish,

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fish, a bird, a quadruped, the skin of a beast, or the possession of a woman. Let misanthropy exaggerate at pleasure the vices of our cities, it will not succeed in disgusting us of those express or tacit conventions, nor of those artificial virtues, which constitute the security and the charm of our societies.

THERE are undoubtedly assassins among us, there are violators of an asylum, there are monsters whose avidity, indigence, or laziness, disgust the social order. There are other monsters, perhaps more detestable, who, possessed of a plenty which would be sufficient for two or three thousand families, are only occupied in increasing the misery of them. I shall not the less implore benediction upon the public strength, which most commonly insures my person and my property, in return for the contributions which it requires from me.

A TAX may be defined, a sacrifice of a part of a man's property for the defence of the rest: it follows from hence, that there should not be any tax either among people in a state of slavery, or among savages: for the former no longer enjoy any property, and the latter have not yet acquired any.

BUT when a nation possesses any large and valuable property, when it's fortune is sufficiently established, and is considerable enough to make the expences of government necessary, when it has possessions, trade, and wealth capable of tempting the avidity of it's neighbours, who may be poor or ambitious; then, in order to guard it's frontiers,

frontiers, or it's provinces, to protect it's navigation, and keep up it's police, there is a necessity for forces and for a revenue. It is but just and requisite, that the persons who are employed in any manner for the public good, should be maintained by all the other orders of the society.

THERE have been countries and times, in which a portion of the territory was assigned for the public expences of the state. The government, not being enabled of itself to turn such extensive possessions to advantage, was forced to intrust this charge to administrators, who either neglected the revenues, or appropriated them to their own use. This practice brought on still greater inconveniences. Either the royal domains were too considerable in time of peace, or insufficient for the calls of war. In the first instance, the liberty of the state was oppressed by the ruler of it, and in the latter, by strangers. It has, therefore, been found necessary to have recourse to the contributions of the citizens.

THESE funds were in early times not considerable. The stipends then allowed were merely an indemnification to those whom public affairs prevented from attending to those employments that were necessary for their subsistence. Their reward arose from that pleasing sensation which we experience from an internal consciousness of our own virtue, and from the view of the homage paid to it by other men. This moral wealth was the greatest treasure of rising societies; a kind of coin
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which it was equally the interest of government and of morality not to diminish the value of.

HONOUR held the place of taxes no less in the flourishing periods of Greece, than in the infant state of societies. The patriot, who served his country, did not think he had any right to destroy it. The impost laid by Aristides on all Greece, for the support of the war against Persia, was so moderate, that those who were to contribute of themselves, called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were these, and what a country, in which taxes made the happiness of the people!

THE Romans acquired power and empire almost without any assistance from the public treasury. The love of wealth would have diverted them from the conquest of the world. The public service was attended to without any views of interest, even after their manners had been corrupted.

UNDER the feudal government, there were no taxes, for on what could they have been levied? The man and the land were both the property of the Lord. It was both a real and a personal servitude.

WHEN knowledge began to diffuse its light over Europe, the nations turned their thoughts towards their own security. They voluntarily furnished contributions to repress foreign and domestic enemies. But those tributes were moderate, because princes were not yet absolute enough to divert them to purposes of their own caprices, or to the advantage of their ambition.

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THE New World was discovered, and the passion for conquest engaged every nation. That spirit of aggrandizement was inconsistent with the slowness with which affairs are managed in popular assemblies; and sovereigns succeeded without much difficulty in appropriating to themselves greater rights than they had ever before enjoyed. The imposition of taxes was the most important of their usurpations, and it is that, the consequences of which have been the most pernicious.

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PRINCES have even ventured to render the marks of servitude apparent upon all their subjects; by levying a poll-tax. Independent of the humiliation it is attended with, can any thing be more arbitrary than such a tax.

Is the tax to be levied upon voluntary information? But this would require between the monarch and his subjects an attachment to each other arising from a principle of duty, which should unite them by a mutual love of the general good; or, at least, a regard to public welfare, to inspire the one with confidence in the other, by a sincere and reciprocal communication of their intelligence, and of their sentiments. Even then, upon what is this conscientious principle to be founded, which is to serve as an instructor, a guide, and a check in the affairs of government?

Is the sanctuary of families, or the closet of the citizen, to be invaded, in order to gain by surprise, and bring to light, what he does not chuse to reveal, what it is often of importance to him not to discover. What an inquisition is this!

What

What an injurious violence! Though we should even become acquainted with the resources and means of subsistence of every individual, do they not vary from one year to another with the uncertain and precarious productions of industry? Are they not lessened by the increase of children, by the decay of strength through sickness, age, and laborious occupations. The very faculties of the human species, which are useful and employed in laborious occupations, do they not change with those vicissitudes occasioned by time in every thing that depends on nature and fortune? The personal tax is a vexation then to the individual, without being a general benefit. A poll-tax is a sort of slavery, oppressive to the man, without being profitable to the state.

AFTER princes had imposed this tax, which is a mark of despotism, or which leads to it sooner or later, imposts were then laid upon articles of consumption. Sovereigns have affected to consider this new tribute as in some measure voluntary, because it rises in proportion to the expences of the subject, which he is at liberty to increase or diminish according to his abilities, or his propensities, which are for the most part factitious.

BUT if taxation affect the commodities which are of immediate necessity, it must be considered as an act of the greatest cruelty. Previous to all the laws of society, man had a right to subsist. And is he to lose that right by the establishment of laws? To sell the produce of the earth to the people at a high price, is in reality to deprive them
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of it: to wrest from them by a tax the natural means of preserving life, is, in fact, to affect the very principle of their existence. By extorting the subsistence of the needy, the state takes from him his strength with his food. It reduces the poor man to a state of beggary; and the labouring man to that of idleness; it makes the unfortunate man become a rogue; that is, it is the cause of bringing the man who is ready to starve to an untimely end, from the extreme distress to which he is reduced.

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If the imposts affect commodities less necessary, how many hands, lost to tillage and the arts, are employed, not in guarding the bulwarks of the empire, but in crowding the kingdom with an infinite number of useless barriers; in embarrassing the gates of towns; infesting the highways and roads of commerce; and searching into cellars, granaries, and storehouses! What a state of war between prince and people, between subject and subject! How many prisons, galleys, and gibbets prepared for a number of unhappy persons who have been urged on to fraudulent practices, to smuggling, and even to piracy, by the iniquity of the revenue laws!

THE avidity of sovereigns has extended itself from the articles of consumption to those of traffic carried on from one state to another. Insatiable tyrants! Will ye never be sensible, that if ye lay duties on what ye offer to the stranger, he will buy at a cheaper rate, he will give only the price demanded by other states: if even your own subjects were the sole proprietors of that produce
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you have taxed, they still would never be able to make other nations submit to such exactions; for in that case the demand would be for a less quantity, and the overplus would oblige them to lower the price, in order to find a sale for it.

THE duty on merchandize which one state receives from another, is not less unreasonable. The price of the goods being regulated by the competition of other countries, the duties will be paid by the subjects of that state which buys commodities for it's neighbours. Possibly, the increase in the price of foreign produce may diminish the consumption of it. But if a less quantity of merchandize be sold to any country, a less quantity will be purchased of it. The profits of trade are to be estimated in proportion to the quantity of merchandize sold and bought. Commerce is in fact nothing more than exchange of the value of one commodity for that of another. It is not possible then to oppose the course of these exchanges, without lowering the value of the productions that are sold, by restraining the sale of them.

WHETHER therefore duties be laid on our own or on foreign merchandize, the industry of the subject will necessarily suffer by it. The means of payment will be fewer, and there will be less raw materials to work up. The greater diminution there is in the annual produce, the greater also will be the decrease of labour. Then all the laws that can be made against beggars will be ineffectual, for man must live on what is given him, if he cannot live by what he earns.

BUT

BUT what then is the mode of taxation the most proper to conciliate the public interest with the rights of individuals? It is the land-tax. An impost is, with respect to the person upon whom it is charged, an annual expence. It can only, therefore, be assessed on an annual revenue; for nothing but an annual revenue can discharge an annual expence. Now there never can be any annual revenue, except that of the land. It is land only which returns yearly what has been bestowed upon it, with an additional profit that may be disposed of. It is but within these few years that we have begun to be sensible of this important truth. Some men of abilities will one day be able to demonstrate the evidence of it: and that government which first makes this the foundation of it's system, will necessarily be raised to a degree of prosperity unknow'n to all nations and all ages.

PERHAPS, there is no state in Europe at present whose situation admits of so great a change. The taxes are every where so heavy, the expences so multiplied, the wants so urgent, the treasury of the state in general so much indebted, that a sudden change in the mode of raising the public revenues, would infallibly alter the confidence and disturb the peace of the subject. But an enlightened and provident policy will tend, by slow and gradual steps, towards so salutary an end. With courage and prudence it will remove every obstacle that prejudice, ignorance, and private interest might have to oppose to a system of administration,

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nistraton, the advantages of which appear to us beyond all calculation.

IN order that nothing may lessen the benefits of this fortunate innovation, it will be necessary that all lands without distinction should be subjected to taxation. The public weal is a treasure in common, wherein every individual should deposit his tribute, his service, and his abilities. Names and titles will never change the nature of men and their possessions. It would be the utmost meanness and folly to avail ourselves of distinctions received from our ancestors, in order to withdraw ourselves from the burthens of society. Every mark of distinction that is not of general utility should be considered as injurious, it can only be equitable, when it is founded on a formal engagement of devoting our lives and fortunes in a more particular manner to the service of our country.

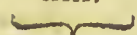
IF in our days the tax were laid for the first time upon the land, would it not necessarily be supposed that the contribution should be proportioned to the extent and value of the estates? Would any one venture to allege his employments, his services, his dignities, in order to screen himself from the tributes required for the public service? What connection have taxes with ranks, titles, and conditions? They relate only to the revenue: and this belongs to the state, as soon as it becomes necessary for the public defence.

THE manner in which the tax ought to be laid upon the lands is more difficult to ascertain. Some writers have imagined, that ecclesiastical tithes, unfortunately levied in the greatest part of Europe, would be a proper mode to be adopted. In that system, say they, there could be no fraud nor mistake. According as circumstances should require more efforts on the part of the people, the treasury would take a fourth, a fifth, a sixth part of the productions at the time of the harvest, and every thing would be settled without constraint, without deceit, without mistrust, and without oppression.

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BUT in this mode of levying how will the tax be collected, for objects so multiplied, so variable, and so little know'n? Would not the form of administration require enormous expences? Would not the farming of the tax give occasion to profits too considerable? If this arrangement should therefore appear most fatal to citizens, would it not be most fatal to government? How can any one possibly doubt, that the interest of the individual is the same as that of the society? Can any one be still ignorant of the close connection there is between the sovereign who asks and the subjects who grant?

BESIDES, this impost, apparently so equal, would in fact be the most disproportioned of all those which ignorance hath ever suggested. While one contributor should be required to give up only the fourth of his revenue, one half, and sometimes more, would be taken from others, who, in order to obtain the same quantity



of productions, will have been obliged, by the nature of an ungrateful soil, or by the difficulty of working it, to support expences infinitely more considerable.

THESE inconveniences have occasioned an idea to be rejected, which has been proposed or supported by men little versed in political œconomy, but disgusted, with reason, at the arbitrary manner in which they saw the lands taxed. Suppose the extent of the domain be admitted as a rule, yet it must be considered that there are some lands which can pay a great deal, others which can pay little, and some, even, which can pay nothing, because the profits remaining, after all the expences, are scarce sufficient to determine the most intelligent man to cultivate them. If an exact state of the leases be demanded, will not the farmers and proprietors act in concert to deceive the government? and what means are there to discover a fraud, planned with consummate art? If you will allow men to give in the account of their own estates, for one of these declarations that shall be honest, will there not be a hundred false ones? and will not the citizen of strict probity be the victim of him who is destitute of principles? In the mode of taking an estimation of the value of the lands, will not the agent of the treasury suffer himself to be suborned by contributors whose interest it is to bribe him? Suppose the care of making the repartitions be left to the inhabitants of each district, it is undoubtedly the most equitable rule, the most conformable to the rights of nature and property; and yet it must

must necessarily produce so many cabals, altercations, and animosities, so violent a collision between the passions, which will interfere with each other, that it cannot be productive of that system of equity which might insure the public happiness.

A REGISTER book, which would cautiously measure the lands, which would appreciate, with equity, their value, would alone be capable of effecting this fortunate revolution. This principle, so simple and so evident, hath been rarely applied, and then but imperfectly. It is to be hoped, that this fine institution, though warmly opposed by authority and by corruption, will be improved in those states where it has been adopted, and that it will be introduced in the empires where it doth not yet exist. The monarch who shall signalize his reign by this great benefit, will be blessed during his life, his memory will be dear to posterity, and his felicity will be extended beyond ages; if, as it cannot be doubted, there exists a God, the remunerator of good actions.

BUT let not government, under whatever form it may have been established, or still subsists, ever carry the measure of imposts to excess. It is said, that in their origin they rendered men more active, more sober, and more intelligent; and that they have thus contributed to the prosperity of empires. This opinion is not destitute of probability; but it is still more certain, that when the taxes have been extended beyond the proper limits, they have stopped the labours, extinguished industry, and produced discouragement.

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THOUGH man hath been condemned by nature to perpetual watchings in order to secure a subsistence, this urgent care hath not exerted all his faculties. His desires have been extended much beyond this; and the more numerous are the objects which have entered into his plan of happiness, the more repeated have been his efforts to attain them. If he hath been reduced, by tyranny, to expect nothing more from obstinate labour than articles of primary necessity, his activity hath been diminished; he hath himself contracted the sphere of his wants. Troubled, soured, and exhausted by the oppressive spirit of the treasury, he hath either languished by his wretched fire-side, or hath quitted his country in search of a less unfortunate destiny, or hath led a wandering and vagabond life over desolated provinces. Most societies have, at different periods, suffered these calamities, and exhibited this hideous spectacle.

ACCORDINGLY, it is an error, and a very great one, to judge of the power of empires by the revenue of the sovereign. This basis of calculation would be the best that could be established, if the tributes were proportioned to the abilities of the citizens; but when the republic is oppressed by the weight or the variety of the imposts, these riches, far from being a sign of national prosperity, are a mark of decay. The people, unable to furnish any extraordinary assistance to the mother-country, when threatened or invaded, yield to a foreign yoke, and submit to shameful and ruinous laws. The catastrophe is hastened, when the treasury has recourse to the
farming

farming of the revenue, in order to collect the taxes.

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THE contribution of the citizens towards the public treasury is a tribute : they should present it themselves to the sovereign ; who, on his part, ought prudently to direct the employment of it. Every intermediate agent destroys these connections, which cannot be too nearly united. His influence becomes an unavoidable source of division and ravage. It is under this odious aspect that the farmers of the taxes have always been considered.

THE farmers of the revenue contrive the taxes ; and it is their business to multiply them. They envelop them in obscurity, in order to give them the degree of extension most suitable to themselves. Their interests are supported by judges chosen by themselves. They bribe every access to the throne ; and they cause at pleasure their zeal to be extolled, or the people to be calumniated, who are dissatisfied, with reason, at their vexations. By those vile artifices they plunge the province into the lowest degree of misery, while their own coffers regurgitate with riches. Then it is that the laws, manners, honour, and the little remains of the blood of the nation, are sold to them at the vilest price. The contractor enjoys, without shame or remorse, these infamous and criminal advantages, till he hath destroyed the state, the prince, and himself.

FREE nations have seldom experienced this terrible destiny. Humane and considerate principles have made them prefer an administration

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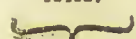
almost always of a paternal kind, to receive the contributions of the citizens. It is in absolute governments that the tyrannical custom of farming out the revenue is peculiarly adopted. Governments have sometimes been alarmed at the ravages occasioned by this practice; but timid, ignorant, or indolent administrators, have apprehended, that in the confusion in which things were, a total subversion would be the consequence of the least change. Wherefore, then, should not the time of the disease be that of the remedy? Then it is that the minds of men are better disposed to a change, that opposition is less violent, and that the revolution is more easily accomplished.

It is not, however, sufficient that the impost should be levied with equity, and that it should be collected with moderation; it is further necessary that it should be proportioned to the wants of government, which are not always the same. War hath ever required in all countries, and in every age, more considerable expences than peace. The ancients made a provision for them by their œconomy in times of tranquillity. Since the advantages of circulation, and the principles of industry, have been better understood, the method of laying up specie for this purpose has been proscribed, and that of imposing extraordinary taxes has been, with reason, preferred. Every state that should prohibit them would find itself obliged, in order to protract it's fall, to have recourse to the methods made use of at Constantinople. The Sultan, who can do every thing
but

but augment his revenues, is constrained to give up the empire to the extortions of his delegates, that he may afterwards deprive them of what they have plundered from his subjects.

THAT taxes may not be exorbitant, they should be ordered, regulated, and administered by the representatives of the people. The impost has ever depended on, and must be proportioned to, the property possessed. He who is not master of the produce is not master of the field. Tributes, therefore, among all nations have always been first imposed upon proprietors only; whether the lands were divided among the conquerors, or the clergy shared them with the nobles; or whether passed, by means of commerce and industry, into the hands of the generality of the citizens. Every where, those who were in possession of them had reserved to themselves the natural, unalienable, and sacred right, of not being taxed without their own consent. If we do not admit this principle, there is no longer any monarchy, or any nation; there is nothing remaining but a despotic master, and a herd of slaves.

YE people, whose kings command every thing at pleasure, read over again the history of your own country. You will see that your ancestors assembled themselves, and deliberated, whenever a subsidy was in agitation. If this custom be neglected, the right is not lost; it is recorded in heaven, which has given the earth to mankind to possess; it is written on the field you have taken the pains to inclose, in order to secure to yourselves the enjoyment of it: it is written in your hearts,

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hearts, where the divinity has impressed the love of liberty. Man, whose head is raised towards heaven, was not made in the image of his Creator to bow before man. No one is greater than another, but by the choice and consent of all. Ye courtiers, your greatness consists in your lands, and is not to be found in your attendance on your master. Be less ambitious, and ye will be richer. Do justice to your vassals, and ye will improve your fortunes by increasing the general happiness. What advantage can ye propose to yourselves by raising the edifice of despotism upon the ruins of every kind of liberty, virtue, sentiment, and property? Consider that this power will crush you all. Around this formidable Colossus ye are no more than figures of bronze, representing the nations chained at the feet of a statue.

IF the right of imposing taxes be in the prince alone, though it may not be for his interest to burden and oppress his people, yet they will be burdened and oppressed. The caprices, profusions, and encroachments of the sovereign, will no longer know any bounds when they meet with no obstacles. A false and cruel system of politics will soon persuade him, that rich subjects will always become insolent; that they must be distressed, in order to be reduced to subjection; and that poverty is the firmest rampart of the throne. He will proceed so far as to believe that every thing is at his disposal; that nothing belongs to his slaves; and that he does them a favour in leaving them any thing.

THE

THE government will appropriate to itself all the means and resources of industry ; and will lay such restraints on the exports and imports of every article of trade, as will entirely absorb the profits arising from it. Commerce will only be circulated by the interference, and for the benefit of the treasury. Cultivation will be neglected by mercenaries who can have no hopes of acquiring property. The nobility will serve in the army only for pay. The magistrate will give judgment only for the sake of his fees and his salary. Merchants will keep their fortunes concealed, in order that they may convey them out of a land where there is no spirit of patriotism, nor any security left. The nation, then losing all it's importance, will conceive an indifference for it's kings ; will see it's enemies only in those who are it's masters ; will be induced to hope that a change of slavery will tend to alleviate the yoke of it ; will expect it's deliverance from a revolution, and the restoration of it's tranquillity from an entire overthrow of the state.

“ THIS description is dreadful,” said a vizier to me, for there are viziers every where. “ I am concerned at it. But without contribution, how can I maintain that strength of the state, the necessity and advantage of which you yourself acknowledge ? This strength should be permanent, and always equal ; otherwise there would be no more security for your persons, your property, or your industry. Happiness undefended is no more than a chimera. My expences are independent of the variety of seasons,

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“ sons, of the inclemency of the elements, and
 “ of all accidents. It is therefore necessary that
 “ they should be supplied by you, although a
 “ pestilence should have destroyed your cattle,
 “ though insects should have devoured your
 “ vines, and though the hail should have rooted
 “ up your harvests. You must pay, or I will
 “ turn against you that strength of the state,
 “ which hath been created for your safety, and
 “ which it is your business to maintain.”

THIS oppressive system concerned only the proprietors of lands. The vizier soon informed me of the means which he employed to render the other members of the confederacy subservient to the treasury.

“ It is chiefly in the cities that the mechan-
 “ cal and liberal arts, of utility or ornament, of
 “ necessity or fancy, are concentrated, or at least
 “ their activity, their display, or their improve-
 “ ment. There it is that the rich, and conse-
 “ quently indolent citizens, attracted or fixed by
 “ the charms of society, endeavour to delude the
 “ wearisomeness of life by factitious wants. There
 “ it is, that in order to gratify them, they employ
 “ the poor, or, which is the same thing, the indus-
 “ trious man; who, in his turn, in order to
 “ satisfy the wants of primary necessity, which
 “ are for a long time the only wants with
 “ which he is tormented, endeavours to multi-
 “ ply the factitious wants of the rich man; from
 “ whence arises between the one and the other
 “ a mutual dependence, founded upon their re-
 “ spective interests; for the industrious man
 “ wishes

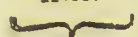
“ wishes to labour, while the rich man wishes to
 “ enjoy. If, therefore, I can tax the necessary
 “ articles of all the inhabitants of cities, whether
 “ industrious or idle, that is to say, if I can raise
 “ the price, for the state, of all the commodities
 “ and merchandize which are consumed there,
 “ by the wants of all the individuals; I shall then
 “ have taxed all the species of industry, and I
 “ shall have brought them to the condition of the
 “ industrious husbandman. I shall have done
 “ still more; and especially, let not this circum-
 “ stance escape your notice, I shall have made
 “ the rich pay for the poor, because the latter
 “ will not fail to raise the price of his produc-
 “ tions, in proportion to the multiplication of his
 “ wants.”

I CONJURE thee, vizier, to spare, at least, the
 air, the water, the fire, and even the corn, which
 is not less, than those three elements, the
 sacred right of every man, without exception.
 Deprived of light, no one can either live or
 act, and without life or action there can be no
 industry.

“ I WILL think of it. But, attend to me in all
 “ the different plans, by which I have compre-
 “ hended all the other objects of necessity, espe-
 “ cially in the cities. In the first place, being
 “ master of the frontiers of the empire, I suffer
 “ nothing to come from foreigners, nor any
 “ thing to be conveyed to them, unless they pay
 “ in proportion to the number, weight, and
 “ value of the thing sent. By this mode, he
 “ who hath manufactured, or who exports, yields
 “ to

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“ to me a part of his profits; and he who re-
 “ ceives or consumes, gives me something above
 “ what belongs to the merchant, or to the ma-
 “ nufacturer.”

I UNDERSTAND, vizier; but by interfering thus between the seller and the purchaser, between the manufacturer, or the merchant, and the consumer, without being called upon, and without your interference being profitable to them, since, on the contrary, you keep it up to their detriment, doth it not happen, that on their parts they endeavour, by deceiving thee some how or other, to diminish thy share, or even to frustrate thee of it?

“ UNDOUBTEDLY: but of what use would the
 “ strength of the state be to me then, if I did not
 “ employ it in finding out the fraud, in guarding
 “ against it, or in punishing it? If they endea-
 “ vour to with-hold or to diminish my share, I
 “ take the whole; and even sometimes proceed
 “ a little further.”

I COMPREHEND you: Thus it is that wars and exactions are still maintained on the frontiers, and on the borders of the provinces; and that, in order to press upon that fortunate industry, which is the tie of the most distant nations, and of the people the most separated by their manners and by their religion.

“ I AM sorry for it. But every thing must be
 “ sacrificed to the strength of the state, to that
 “ bulwark which is raised against the jealousy
 “ and rapaciousness of neighbouring powers. The
 “ interest of particular individuals, doth not al-
 “ ways

“ways agree with that of the greater number. B O O K
 “One effect of the proceeding you complain of XIX.
 “is, to preserve to you commodities and pro-
 “ductions, which personal advantage would de-
 “prive you of by exporting them to foreign
 “countries; and I prohibit the importation of
 “foreign merchandize, which, by the super-
 “abundance they would occasion, when united
 “to your’s, would lower the price of the lat-
 “ter.”

I THANK thee, vizier: but is it necessary that thou should’st have troops? Those troops are very inconvenient. And could’st thou not serve me without a military parade?

“IF you perpetually interrupt me, you will
 “lose the thread of my subtile and marvellous
 “operations. After having laid a tax on mer-
 “chandize, on it’s entrance, and on it’s going
 “out of the empire, on it’s passage from one
 “province to the other, I follow the track of the
 “traveller, who goes through my district on ac-
 “count of his affairs, or through motives of cu-
 “riosity. I follow the peasant who carries to
 “town the produce of the fields, or of his farm-
 “yard; and when thirst drives him into a public
 “house, by means of an association with the
 “master. . . .”

WHAT, vizier! An inn-keeper is your asso-
 ciate?

“CERTAINLY. Is there any thing despicable,
 “when the maintenance of the strength of the
 “state, and consequently the wealth of the trea-
 “sury, is concerned? By means of this associa-
 “tion,

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“tion, I receive part of the price of the liquor
“consumed there.”

BUT vizier, how does it happen that you come to be the partner of the keeper of an inn or tavern, in the sale of his liquors? Is it possible that you should be his purveyor?

“I HIS purveyor! This is what I would care-
“fully avoid. Where would be the advantage
“of selling the wine, which the vine-dresser
“might have given me as the tribute of his in-
“dustry? I am better acquainted with the ma-
“nagement of my affairs. In the first place, I
“am in partnership with the vine-keeper or
“proprietor, with the brewer and the distiller of
“brandy, by which I obtain part of the price for
“which they sell them to the inn-holders, or
“keepers of public houses; and I have afterwards
“another with the latter, by which they are ac-
“countable to me in their turn, for a portion of
“the price which they receive from the con-
“sumer, leaving the seller at liberty to recover
“from the consumer that share of the price which
“belongs to me from the consumption.”

It must be acknowledged that this is very fine. But vizier, how do you manage to be present at all the sales of liquors which are made in your empire? How doth it happen that you are not pilfered by these inn-keepers, who have been notoriously dishonest, ever since the times of the Romans, though the questors were not in partnership with them? After what you have intrusted to me I do not doubt of any thing, but I am curious.

“IT

“ It is in this instance that I shall appear bold
 “ to you, and that you will admire my sagacity. It
 “ is impossible to aspire to every kind of merit
 “ and of glory. First, no man is allowed to
 “ move a hoghead of wine, of cyder, beer, or
 “ of brandy, either from the place where it is
 “ produced or prepared; or from the ware-
 “ house or from the cellar, either to sell or to
 “ transport, no matter for what purpose, without
 “ my permission in writing. By this I know
 “ what becomes of them. If any liquor be
 “ met without this passport I seize upon it;
 “ and the proprietor pays me immediately a
 “ third, or a fourth more than the value. Af-
 “ terwards the same agents, who are employed
 “ night and day, in all parts, to ascertain to me
 “ the honesty of the proprietors, or wholesale
 “ merchants, in keeping their compact of asso-
 “ ciation, enter every day twice rather than
 “ once, into the house of each inn or tavern-
 “ keeper, where they sound the vessels, reckon
 “ the bottles; and if there be the least suspicion
 “ of pilfering upon my share, the punishment is
 “ so severe as to prevent their being tempted a
 “ second time.”

But, vizier, in order to please you, are not
 your agents so many petty subaltern tyrants?

“ I MAKE no doubt of it; and I reward them
 “ well for it.”

VERY well; but vizier, I have one scruple.
 These associations, with the proprietor and with
 the merchants in wholesale and in retail, have a
 little the appearance of those which the high-

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wayman contracts with the passenger whom he robs.

“ You do not consider what you say. My
 “ associations are authorized by law, and by the
 “ sacred institution of the strength of the state.
 “ Can no circumstance then have an influence
 “ upon your mind? But let me now persuade you
 “ to come with me to the gates of the city, where
 “ you will not find me less admirable. Nothing
 “ enters there without bringing some profit to
 “ me. Should they be liquors, they contribute,
 “ not in proportion to their value, as in my other
 “ arrangements, but according to their quantity;
 “ and you may be assured that I am not the dupe.
 “ The inn keeper, or the citizen, have nothing
 “ to say, although I have besides some concern
 “ with them, at the time of the purchase and of
 “ the sale, for it is in a different manner. If
 “ they be provisions, I have my agents, not only
 “ at the gates, but at the slaughter-houses and in
 “ the fish-markets; and no one would attempt
 “ to plunder me, without risking more than he
 “ could get by the fraud. Less precautions are
 “ necessary in respect to wood, forage, or paper.
 “ These mercantile articles cannot be pilfered
 “ as a flask of wine is. I have, however, my
 “ emissaries on the roads, and in the bye-places,
 “ and woe be to those who should be found en-
 “ deavouring to elude my vigilance. You see,
 “ therefore, that whoever dwells in cities, whe-
 “ ther he may live by his industry, or whether he
 “ may employ his income, or a part of his profits,
 “ in a salary for the industrious man, still no one
 “ can

“ can consume without paying; and that all men
 “ pay more for the usual and indispensable con-
 “ sumptions, than for the rest. I have laid every
 “ kind of industry under contribution, without
 “ it’s perceiving it. There are, however, some
 “ branches of it with which I have endeavoured
 “ to treat more directly, because their common
 “ residence is not in towns, and that I have
 “ imagined they would be more profitable to
 “ me from a special contribution. For instance,
 “ I have agents in the forges and furnaces, where
 “ iron, which is put to so many different uses, is
 “ manufactured and weighed; I have some in
 “ the workshops of the tanners, where the hides,
 “ which are of such general utility, are manufac-
 “ tured; I have some among all those persons
 “ who work in gold, silver, plate, and jewels;
 “ and you will not accuse me, in this instance, of
 “ attacking objects of primary necessity. In pro-
 “ portion as my experiments succeed I extend
 “ them. I flatter myself that I shall one day be
 “ able to fix my satellites by the side of the linen
 “ looms, because they are so universally useful.
 “ But do not impart my secret to any one.
 “ Whenever my speculations get wind, it is al-
 “ ways to my detriment.”

I AM truly stricken, vizier, with your sagacity,
 or with that of your sublime predecessors.
 They have digged mines of gold every where.
 They have made of your country a Peru, the
 inhabitants of which have, perhaps, had the same
 destiny as those of the other continent; but of
 what concern is it to you? But you say nothing
 to me of the salt, and the tobacco, which you sell

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ten times above their intrinsic value, though salt be the most necessary article in life, after bread and water. What is the meaning of your silence? Are you sensible of the contradiction in your conduct in selling this article, and refusing to collect the other contributions in kind, under pretence of the trouble of selling again?

“Not in the least. The difference is easily perceived. If I received from the proprietor or cultivator his share of contribution in kind, in order to sell it again afterwards, I become his competitor in the markets. My predecessors have been prudent, in reserving to themselves the exclusive distribution of them. This hath been attended with some difficulty. In order to bring those two streams of gold into the reservoir of the treasury, it was necessary to forbid the culture and the manufacture of tobacco in the nation; which doth not dispense me from keeping upon the frontiers, and even in the interior parts of the empire, an army, to prevent the introduction and the competition of any other tobacco with mine.”

HAVE you found these expedients successful, vizier?

“Not so fully as I could have wished, notwithstanding the severity of the penal laws. As for the salt, the difficulty was much greater; I cannot but acknowledge my concern at it. My predecessors committed an irreparable blunder. Under pretence of dispensing a useful favour, necessary to some of the maritime provinces, or, perhaps, induced by the allurements of a considerable sum, though a temporary one,
“ which

“ which other provinces paid, to be allowed to
 “ furnish themselves with salt as they chose; they
 “ gave way to exceptions, the consequences of
 “ which are, that it is not I who sell it, in one
 “ third of the extent of the empire, or there-
 “ abouts. I am indeed in great hopes of alter-
 “ ing this; but I must wait for the moment of
 “ distress.”

INDEPENDENT, therefore, of the armies which
 you maintain upon the frontiers, to prevent the
 importation of tobacco and foreign merchan-
 dize, you have still others in the inland parts of
 the country, to prevent the sale of the salt be-
 longing to the free provinces from coming into
 competition with the sale of your's.

“ IT is true. However I must do justice to
 “ our antient viziers. They have left me a very
 “ well-contrived system of legislation. For in-
 “ stance, those persons of the free countries bor-
 “ dering upon those provinces where I sell, are
 “ allowed to sell as little salt as possible, to pre-
 “ vent them from selling it to my prejudice;
 “ and by a consequence of the same wise mea-
 “ sures, those who are to purchase of me, and
 “ who, being near the free countries, might be
 “ tempted to provide themselves at a cheaper
 “ rate, are compelled to take more than they can
 “ consume.”

AND is this custom consecrated by law?

“ YES; and supported by the august strength
 “ of the state. I am authorized to number the
 “ families, and if any one of them should not
 “ purchase the quantity of salt that I think neces-

“sary for their consumption, they are obliged to
“pay for it, all the same as if they had.”

AND every person who shall salt their meat with any other salt than your's, will certainly suffer for it.

“EXCEEDINGLY. Beside the seizure of this
“iniquitous salt, it costs him more than he
“would expend for supplying his family for several years.”

AND what becomes of the seller?

“THE seller! He is of course a robber, a
“plunderer, a malefactor, whom I reduce to
“beggary if he has any thing, and whom I
“send to the galleys if he has nothing.”

BUT are you not, vizier, exposed to incessant law-suits?

“I HAVE many upon my hands; but there is
“a particular court of justice, to which the exclusive determination of them is committed.”

AND how dost thou extricate thyself from them? Is it by the interference of thy favourite principle, the strength of the state?

“WITH that, and with money.”

I CAN but admire, vizier, thy head and thy courage. Thy head, which attends to so many objects, and thy courage, which faces so many enemies. You have been typified in the holy scriptures by Ishmael, whose hands were uplifted against all, and those of all raised against him.

“ALAS, I own it! But the importance of the
“strength of the state, and the extent of its
“wants are such, that it hath been necessary to
“have

“ have recourse to other expedients. Besides
 “ what the proprietor is annually indebted to me
 “ for the produce of his estate; if he should re-
 “ solve to sell it, the purchaser must pay me a sum
 “ above the price agreed on with the seller. I
 “ have rated all human compacts, and no man
 “ enters into any kind of contract without fur-
 “ nishing me a contribution proportioned either
 “ to the object or the nature of the convention.
 “ This examination implies a set of profound
 “ agents. And indeed I am often in want of
 “ them. The pleader cannot take one single step,
 “ either as plaintiff or defendant, without some
 “ benefit arising to me from it; and you will
 “ allow that this tribute is very innocent; for no
 “ one is yet disgusted of law-suits.”

SUFFER me to take breath, vizier, although thy
 calculation should not be at an end. Thou hast wear-
 ried out my admiration, and I know not which cir-
 cumstance should most excite my astonishment,
 either that perfidious and barbarous science which
 extends it's influence over every thing, and presses
 upon every thing; or that patience with which
 so many repeated acts of subtle tyranny, which
 spares nothing, are supported. The slave receives
 his subsistence in exchange for his liberty, while
 thy wretched contributor is deprived of his liberty
 by furnishing thee with his subsistence.

HITHERTO I have so frequently given way to
 emotions even of indignation, that I have ven-
 tured to think I should be excused for indulging
 myself for once in ridicule and irony, which have

so often decided the most important questions. I resume the character that suits me, and I say :

THERE undoubtedly must be a degree of public strength in every government, which shall act both within and without. Without, to defend the body of the nation against the jealousy, the cupidity, the ambition, the contempt, and violence of other nations; and this protection, or the security which should be the effect of it, requires armies, fleets, fortresses, arsenals, feeble allies to be kept in pay, and powerful allies to be seconded. Within, to preserve the citizen attached to the order of society, from the troubles, oppressions, and injuries he may be exposed to from the wicked man, who suffers himself to be led astray by passions, by personal interest, or by his vices, and who is restrained only by the threats of justice, and by the vigilance of the police.

WE shall moreover venture to advance, that it is advantageous to the greater number of citizens, that the strength of the state should encourage industry, stimulate talents, and assist those who, from an inconsiderate zeal, unforeseen misfortunes, or false speculations, have lost their own ability. It is from this principle that we trace the necessity of charity-schools and hospitals.

IN order to increase the energy of this strength of the state, which, especially in monarchial states, seems to be distinct and separate from the nation; I would even consent that the depositary and director of this public strength should impress awe by a parade of dignity, should attract by mildness,

ness, and encourage by rewards, since it is his duty to make it be feared, respected, and cherished.

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ALL these means are expensive. Expences suppose revenue, and a revenue implies contributions. It is just, that those who partake of the advantages of the strength of the state should furnish towards it's maintenance. There is a tacit but sacred agreement between the sovereign and his subjects, by which the former engages to assist, with a degree of that force proportioned to the portion that has been furnished of it, towards the general mass of contributions; and this distributive justice would be executed of itself by the nature of things, if it were not incessantly disturbed by corruption and vice.

BUT in every convention there is a proportion between the price and the value of the thing acquired; and this proportion must necessarily be in the ratio of *minus* on the side of the price, and in that of *plus* on the side of the advantages. I am ready to purchase a sword to defend myself against the thief, but if, in order to acquire this sword, I am obliged to empty my purse or to sell my house, I would rather compound with the thief.

Now where then is this analogy, this proportion of advantages, derived from the strength of the state, *in favour of a proprietor*, when compared with the price which he pays for them, if among the most civilized nations of Europe, the least exposed to excursions and to foreign attacks, after having ceded a part of his possession, he is obliged,

when

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when he goes to live in the town, to purchase at an advanced price, for the benefit of this strength of the state, not only the productions of other people, but likewise his own, when he chooses to consume them?

WHAT is this proportion of advantages *for the husbandman*, if he be compelled, on the one hand, to consume in kind a portion of his time, and of the means of his industry, for the construction and the repairing of the roads; and if he be also obliged to return in money a considerable portion of the productions he hath acquired from the earth by the sweat of his brow and by hard labours?

WHAT is this proportion of advantages *for the mechanic*, who cannot work without food, lodging, cloathing, light, and firing; and who cannot supply himself with all these articles without contributing, since these several means of subsistence are taxed; if he be still obliged to return part of the price of his time and of his talents to the impost which falls directly upon the productions of his industry?

WHAT is this proportion of advantages *for the merchant*, who hath already contributed in a variety of ways, both by his personal consumption, by the consumption of his clerks, as well as by the advanced price of the first materials; if he be still obliged to cede a portion of the price of the merchandize which he sends out, and from which he may perhaps receive nothing; in case of some of those numberless accidents, from which this public strength doth not engage either to screen or indemnify him?

WHAT

WHAT is this proportion of advantage *for all individuals*, if after having contributed in every progression and exertion of our industry to the common mass, on one hand, by an annual and general impost, that of the poll-tax, which hath no connection, no affinity, either with property or with industry, we still contribute, on the other hand, by the salt, a commodity of primary necessity, which is carried to ten times it's intrinsic and natural value?

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ONCE again, what proportion of these advantages belongs *to all individuals*, if we see all these quotas, exacted for the maintenance of the strength of the state, wasted among the extortioners who collect them, while the remainder, which, after several expences of circulation, is poured into the king's treasury, where it is pilaged in several different manners or dissipated in extravagance?

WE shall also ask, what analogy is there between that strange and complicated variety of contributions, and the advantages which each of us obtains from the strength of the state; if it be true, as certain political calculators pretend, that the sums of those who contribute are equal to those of the revenue of the proprietors?

WE can only seek for an answer to this question in the character of the sovereign. If he be cruel, the problem will not be solved; and time, after a long series of oppression will bring about the ruin of the empire. If the sovereign should have any sensibility, the problem will be solved in a manner beneficial to his subjects.

THE

THE chief of the nation must not however flatter himself with effecting any great or lasting good, if he does not make a judicious choice of the man intrusted with the maintenance of the strength of the state. It belongs to that great agent of government to distribute and to render supportable to every individual the enormous weight of the tribute by his equity and by his skill, and to divide it according to the relative degrees of ability or non-ability in the contributors. Without these two circumstances, the oppressed people will fall into a state of despair more or less distant, more or less alarming. With these two circumstances, supported by the expectation of an immediate or approaching relief, they will suffer with patience, and will proceed under their burthen with some share of courage.

BUT where is the minister who will fulfil so difficult a task? Will it be the minister who, from an odious thirst of wealth, shall have eagerly sought the management of the public revenues, and who having attained that important post by dint of servile intrigue, shall have abandoned the treasury a prey to his passions, his friends, his flatterers, and his favourites, and to the detriment of the strength of the state? Perish the memory of such a minister!

WILL it be he who shall view, in the power committed to his hands, nothing more but the instrument of his enmity, or of his personal aversions; who shall consider nothing but how to realize the illusion of his ferocious and disordered imagination, who will treat all measures differ-
ing

ing from his own as absurdities ; whose anger will be excited against real or pretended errors, as if they were so many crimes ; to whom the fable of the stomach and the members shall be an object of ridicule ; who shall enervate that part of the body politic that shall be displeasing to him, by granting almost exclusive favours to that which his fancy, his interest, or his prejudices shall prefer ; to whom every thing shall bear the stamp of confusion and disorder, which shall not be consonant to his singular ideas ; who, destitute of the wisdom necessary to correct what is defective, shall substitute chimeras to a regular system, perhaps imperfect ; and who, in order to correct pretended abuses, blind to the consequences of an ill-suggested plan of reformation, will subvert every thing with a disdainful smile ; an empiric, who is as cruel as ignorant, who mistaking poison for the remedy, shall announce a speedy cure, when repeated convulsions shall proclaim the impending dissolution of the patient ? Perish the memory of such a minister !

SOVEREIGNS, you who are neither exempt from falsehood or seduction, if you have been unfortunate enough to have been directed by such ministers, do not substitute to them a weak and pusillanimous man, who, though well informed, mild, modest, and perhaps incapable of committing any great faults while he acts for himself, will still suffer himself to be misled by others ; will fall into the snares that shall be laid for him ; and will want that necessary vigour, either to put a stop to, or prevent the evil, or to act in op-

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position to yourselves, when his conscience, and the general interest shall require it.

Do not substitute the morose, disdainful, and austere man; and much less the imperious and harsh minister. The impost is a heavy burthen; how, therefore, shall it be supported, if the mode of imposing it be aggravated? It is a bitter cup, which all must swallow; if it be presented hastily, or awkwardly, it will certainly be spilt.

Do not substitute the man who is ignorant of the law, or who despises it, to attend to nothing but finance. It is the interest of a sovereign, that property and industry should be protected, against his own authority, against the enterprizes of his ministers, often inconsiderate, and sometimes dangerous. A minister who sacrifices every thing to finance, will often fill the coffers of his master, he will give to the nation, and to the throne, the splendour of a formidable power; but this splendour will be momentary as lightning. Despair will seize upon the minds of the subjects. By reducing industry to the most extreme distress, the minister will have acted the part of the man in the fable, who killed the hen which brought forth golden eggs.

Do not substitute a villain, armed at all points with the formalities and subtleties of law, who will keep up a perpetual quarrel between the treasury and the law, who will render the former odious, and will relax the bands of a hard but necessary obedience.

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Do not substitute that outrageous philanthropist, who giving himself up to an ill-judged spirit of patriotism, shall forget the treasury, while he indiscreetly gives way to the seducing impulse of benevolence and popularity; an impulse ever laudable in a philosopher, but to which a minister ought not to yield without great circumspection. For it must still be acknowledged, that the strength of the state must be established, and that there must be a treasury to maintain it.

BUT above all things, reject the prodigal minister. How is it possible that a man who hath failed in the management of his own affairs, can administer those of a great state? When he hath dissipated his own estates, will he be economical of the public revenue? Let us suppose him to have probity, delicacy, knowledge, and a sincere desire of being useful to the state, yet in a circumstance, and upon an object so important as that in question, constitutional virtues are only to be trusted to. How many men are there, who have entered virtuous into the ministry, and who, in six months after their promotion, appeared in a very different light to others, and even to themselves. There is, perhaps, less seduction at the foot of the throne, than in the antichamber of a minister; and still less at the foot of the throne, and in the antichambers of other ministers, than at the entrance of the closet of the minister of finance. But we have dwelt too long on imposts; we must now speak of what hath been suggested to supply it's place, of public credit.

IN general, what is called credit is only a delay granted for payment. This was a custom unknow'n in the first ages. Every family was satisfied with what uncultivated nature, and some coarse labours supplied to them. Some exchanges were soon begun, but only between relations and neighbours. These connections were extended in all places, where the progress of society multiplied the wants or the pleasures of men. In process of time, it was no longer possible to purchase provisions of one kind with those of another; metals were substituted, and became insensibly the common representative of all things. It happened, that the agents of trade, which were becoming every day more considerable, wanted the money necessary for their speculations. The merchandise was then delivered, to be paid at periods more or less distant; and this fortunate custom still obtains, and will last for ever.

CREDIT supposes double confidence; confidence in the person who is in want of it, and confidence in his abilities to pay. The first is the most necessary. It is too common for a man in debt, who is destitute of honesty, to break his engagements, though he be able to fulfil them; and to dissipate his fortune by irregularity and extravagance. But the sensible and honest man may, by a variety of schemes well conducted, acquire, or replace the means that have failed him for a time.

THE mutual advantage of the purchaser and the seller has given rise to the credit which exists among the individuals of one society, or even of several

several societies. It differs from public credit in this particular, that the latter is the credit of a whole nation, considered as forming one single body.

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BETWEEN public and private credit there is also this difference, that profit is the end of the one, and expence of the other. From hence it follows, that credit is gain with respect to the merchant, because it furnishes him with the means of acquiring riches; but with respect to governments, it is one cause of impoverishing them, since it only supplies them with the means of ruining themselves. A state that borrows, alienates a portion of it's revenue for a capital, which it spends. It is therefore poorer after these loans, than it was before it had recourse to this destructive expedient.

NOTWITHSTANDING the scarcity of gold and silver, the antient governments were unacquainted with public credit, even at the times of the most fatal and critical events. They formed, during peace, a stock that was reserved for times of distress. The specie being by this method circulated afresh, excited industry, and alleviated, in some measure, the inevitable calamities of war. Since the discovery of the New World has made gold and silver more common, those who have had the administration of public affairs have generally engaged in enterprizes above the abilities of the people they governed; and have not scrupled to burthen posterity with debts they had ventured to contract. This system of oppression has been continued; it will affect the

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latest generations, and oppress all nations and all ages.

It is England, Holland, and France, that is to say, the most opulent nations of Europe, who have given so bad an example. These powers have found credit, for the same reason that we do not lend our money to a man who asks charity, but to him who dazzles us with his brilliant equipage. Confidence hath given birth to loans; and confidence arises of itself at the sight of a country, where the richness of the soil is increased by the activity of an industrious people, and at the view of those celebrated ports, which receive all the productions of the universe.

THE situation of these three states hath also encouraged the lender. They are not only the public revenues that are his guarantee, but also the incomes of individuals, in which the treasury finds; in times of necessity, its support and its resources. In countries which, like Germany, are open on all sides, and which have neither barriers, nor natural means of defence, if the enemy, who can enter into them freely, should either fix, or only sojourn there for a time, they immediately levy the public revenues for their own benefit, and they even appropriate to themselves, by contributions, a portion of the incomes of individuals. The creditors of the government then experience the same thing as happened to those who had annuities in the Austrian Netherlands, and to whom more than thirty years arrears were due. With England, France, and Holland, which are all three somewhat more or less secured

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from invasion, there is nothing to fear except the causes which exhaust them, the effect of which is slower, and consequently more distant.

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BUT should it not be the province of the indigent man to borrow, and of the rich to lend? Wherefore, then, are those states which have the most resources the most in debt? It is because the folly of nations is the same as that of individuals: it is because, being more ambitious, they create to themselves more wants: it is because the confidence they have in their means renders them inattentive to the expences they make: it is because no action at law can be maintained against them; and that their debts are themselves liquidated, whenever they have the effrontery to say, we owe nothing: it is because subjects cannot bring their sovereign to justice: it is because a power hath never been, nor perhaps never will be seen, to take up arms in favour of their citizens, robbed and plundered by a foreign power: it is because a state renders it's neighbours in a manner subject to it by loans: it is because Holland is in constant apprehension, lest the first cannon-shot which should pierce the side of one of her ships should acquit England towards her: it is because an edict dated from Versailles may, without consequences, acquit France to Geneva: it is because these motives, which it would be shameful to acknowledge, act secretly in the breasts and in the councils of powerful kings.

THE custom of public credit, though ruinous to every state, is not equally so to all. A nation

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that has several valuable productions of it's own ; whose revenue is entirely free ; which hath always fulfilled it's engagements, which hath not been swayed by the ambition of conquests, and which governs it's self ; such a nation will raise money at an easier rate, than an empire, the soil of which is not fertile ; which is overloaded with debts ; which engages in undertakings beyond it's strength ; which has deceived it's creditors, and groans beneath an arbitrary power. The lender, who of course imposes the law, will always proportion the terms to the risques he must run. Thus, a people whose finances are in a state of confusion, will soon fall into the utmost distress by public credit : but even the best-regulated government will also experience the decline of it's prosperity from it.

BUT some political arithmeticians have asserted, that it is advantageous to invite the specie of other nations into that of our own country, and that public loans produce that important effect. It is certain, that it is a method of attracting the specie of other nations ; but merely, as if it were obtained by the sale of one or more provinces of the empire. Perhaps, it would be a more rational practice to deliver up the soil to them, than to cultivate it solely for their use.

BUT if the state borrowed only of it's own subjects, the national revenue would not be given up to foreigners. It certainly would not : but the state would impoverish some of it's members, in order to enrich one individual. Must not taxes be increased in proportion to the interest that is

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to be paid, and the capital that is to be replaced? Will not the proprietors of lands, the husbandmen, and every citizen, find the burthen greater, than if all the money borrowed by the state had been demanded from them at once? Their situation is the same, as if they themselves had borrowed it, instead of retrenching from their ordinary expences, as much as might enable them to supply an accidental charge.

BUT the paper-currency which is introduced by the loans made to government, increases the quantity of wealth in circulation, gives a great extension to trade, and facilitates every commercial transaction. Infatuated men! reflect on the dangerous consequences of your political system. Extend it only as far as possible; let the state borrow all it can; load it with interest to be paid; and by these means reduce it to the necessity of straining every tax to the utmost; ye will soon find, that with all the wealth you may have in circulation, ye will have no fresh supply for the purposes of consumption and trade. Money, and the paper which represents it, do not circulate of themselves, nor without the assistance of those powers which set them in motion. All the different signs introduced in lieu of coin, acquire a value only proportionate to the number of sales and purchases that are made. Let us agree with you, in supposing all Europe filled with gold. If it should have no merchandise to trade with, that gold will have no circulation. Let us only increase commercial effects, and take no concern about these representations of wealth; mutual

confidence and necessity will soon occasion them to be established without your assistance. But let your care be principally directed in preventing their increase, by such means as must necessarily diminish the mass of your growing produce.

BUT the custom of public credit enables one power to give the law to others. Will it never be perceived that this resource is common to all nations? If it be a general mode by which a state may obtain a superiority over its enemies, may it not be serviceable to them for the same purposes? Will not the credit of the two nations be in proportion to their respective wealth? and will they not be ruined without having any other advantages over one another, than those they were in possession of, independent of every loan? When I see monarchs and empires furiously attacking and waging war against each other, with all their debts, with their public funds, and their revenue already deeply mortgaged, it seems to me, says a philosophical writer, as if I saw men fighting with clubs in a potter's shop surrounded with porcelain.

It would, perhaps, be presumptuous to affirm, that in no circumstance whatsoever the public service can ever require an alienation of part of the public revenues. The scenes that disturb the world are so various; empires are exposed to such extraordinary revolutions; the field of events is so extensive; political interests occasion such amazing changes in public affairs, that it is not within the reach of human wisdom to foresee and calculate

calculate every circumstance. But in this instance, it is the ordinary conduct of governments that we are attending to, and not an extraordinary situation, which, in all probability, may never present itself.

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EVERY state which will not be diverted from the ruinous course of loans, by such considerations as we have just been offering, will be the cause of it's own destruction. The facility of acquiring large sums of money at once, will engage a government in every kind of unreasonable, rash, and expensive undertaking; will make it mortgage it's future expectations, for present exigencies, and game with the present stock to acquire future supplies. One loan will bring on another, and to accelerate the last, the interest will be more and more raised.

THIS irregularity will cause the fruits of industry to pass into some idle hands. The facility of obtaining every enjoyment without labour, will induce every person of fortune, as well as all vicious and intriguing men, to resort to the capital; who will bring with them a train of servants, borrowed from the plough; of young girls, deprived of their innocence, and prevented from marrying; of persons of both sexes, devoted to luxury: all of them the instruments, the victims, the objects, or the sport of indolence and voluptuousness.

THE seducing attraction of public debts will spread more and more. When men can reap the fruits of the earth without labour, every individual will engage in that species of employment

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which is at once lucrative and easy. Proprietors of land, and merchants, will all become annuitants. Money is converted into paper currency, established by the state, because it is more portable than specie, less subject to alteration from time, and less liable to the injury of seasons, and the rapacity of the farmers of the revenue. The preference given to the representative paper, above the real specie or commodity, will be injurious to agriculture, trade, and industry. As the state always expends what has been wrongfully acquired in an improper manner, in proportion as it's debts increase, the taxes must be augmented in order to pay the interest. Thus all the active and useful classes of society are plundered and exhausted by the idle, useless class of annuitants. The increase of taxes raises the price of commodities, and consequently that of industry. By these means, consumption is lessened; because exportation ceases, as soon as merchandize is too dear to stand the competition of other nations. The lands and manufactures are equally affected.

THE inability the state then finds itself in to answer it's engagements, forces it to extricate itself by bankruptcy; a method the most destructive of the freedom of the people, and of the power of the sovereign. Then the decrees for loans are paid by edicts of reduction. Then the oaths of the monarch, and the rights of the subjects, will be betrayed. Then the surest basis of all governments, public confidence, will be irrecoverably lost. Then the fortune of the rich man is
 overthrow'n,

overthrow'n, and the poor man is deprived of the fruits of his long-continued labours, which he had intrusted to the treasury, in order to secure a subsistence in his old age. Then the labour and the salaries are suspended, and the multitude of laborious persons fall into a kind of palsy, and are reduced to beggary. Then the manufactures are empty, and the hospitals are filled, as they are in times of a pestilence. Then the minds of all men are exasperated against the prince, while his agents are every where loaded with imprecations. Then the feeble man, who can submit to lead a life of misery, is condemned to tears; while he to whom nature has given an impatient and stronger mind, arms himself with a dagger, which he turns either against himself, or against his fellow-citizen. Then the spirit, the manners, and the health of the inhabitants of the nation are destroyed; the spirit, by depression and affliction; the manners, by the necessity of having recourse to resources which are always criminal or dishonest; health, by the same consequences which would follow a sudden famine. Sovereign ministers, is it possible that the image of such calamity should be presented to you, without disturbing your tranquillity, or exciting your remorse? If there be a great Judge who waits for you, how will you dare to appear before him, and what sentence can you possibly expect from him? Doubt not but that it will be the same as that which those wretches whom you have made, and whose sole avenger he was, shall have called down upon you. Accursed in this world, you will still be so in the next.

SUCH is the end of loans, from whence we may judge of the principles upon which they are founded.

AFTER having examined the springs and support of every civilized society, let us take a view of the ornaments and decorations of the edifice. These are the fine arts, and polite literature.

NATURE is the model of both the one and the other. To study nature, and to study her with propriety, to select her best appearances, to copy her faithfully, to correct her defects, and to embellish or collect her scattered beauties, in order to compose of them one marvellous object: these are so many talents infinitely rare. Some of them may accompany the man of genius; others may be the result of study, and of the labours of several great men. Sublimity of thought, and expression, may prevail, where there is a want of taste. Imagination and invention may display it's powers in a man who is impetuous and incorrect. Ages pass away, before there appears an orator, a poet, a painter, or a statuary, in whom judgment, which reflects upon it's operations, moderates that ardour which is impatient of advancing in it's career.

IT is chiefly utility which hath given birth to literature, while the fine arts have owed their origin to the allurements of pleasure.

IN Greece they were the offspring of the soil itself. The Greeks, favoured with the most fortunate climate, had a scene of nature incessantly before them, replete with wonderful objects of delight or of horror, rapid streams, craggy mountains,

mountains, antient forests, fertile plains, agreeable vallies, and delightful slopes; the sea sometimes calm and sometimes agitated; every thing in a word, which infuses ardour into the soul, every thing which awakens sensibility and extends the imagination. These people, being scrupulous imitators, copied nature at first, such as they saw her. They soon adapted a spirit of discrimination to their models. Attention to the principal functions of the limbs pointed out to them their grossest defects which they corrected. They afterwards discovered the more trifling imperfections of a figure which they likewise altered; and thus they raised themselves gradually to the conception of ideal beauty, that is to the conception of a being, the existence of which is perhaps possible though not real, for nature makes nothing perfect. Nothing is regular in it, and yet nothing is out of it's place. There are too many causes combined at once in the creation, not merely of an entire animal, but even of the smallest similar parts of an animal, that we should expect to find exact symmetry in them. The beautiful of nature consists in a precise series of imperfections. The whole may be censured, but in that whole every part is precisely what it should be. The attentive consideration of a flower, of the branch of a tree, or of a leaf, are sufficient to confirm this opinion.

It was by this slow and laborious mode that painting and sculpture acquired that degree of perfection which astonishes us, in the Gladiator, the Antinous, and Venus of Medicis. To these fortunate

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fortunate causes may be added a language harmonious from it's origin; a poetry sublime and full of agreeable as well terrible images, previous to the birth of the arts; the spirit of liberty; the exercise of the fine arts, forbidden to slaves; the intercourse of artists with philosophers; their emulation kept up by labours, rewards, and encomiums; the continual view of the human frame in baths and in the Gymnasia, which is a continual lesson for the artist, and the principle of refined taste in the nation. The large and flowing garments which did not deform any part of the body by pressing and confining it; numberless temples to decorate the statues of the Gods and Goddeses, and consequently the inestimable value set on beauty, which was to serve as the model; and the custom of consecrating, by monuments, the memorable actions of great men.

HOMER had set the example of epic poetry. The Olympic games hastened the progress of lyric poetry, of music, and of tragedy. The concatenation of the arts, one with the other, exerted it's influence on architecture. Eloquence assumed dignity and vigour, while it was discussing the public interests.

THE Romans, who copied the Greeks in every thing, were inferior to their models, having neither the same gracefulness nor the same originality. In such of their works as were really beautiful, the efforts of an able copyist were frequently observed, a circumstance which was almost unavoidable. If the masterpieces which they had perpetually before them had been destroyed, their

their genius left to it's own powers and it's natural energy, after some trials and after some deviations, would have soared to a very high degree of perfection, and their works would have had that character of truth which they could not possess, when executed partly from nature and partly from the productions of a school, the spirit of which was unknow'n to them. These originals were to them as were the works of the Creator: they were ignorant of the manner in which they were produced.

A RIGID taste, however, presided over all the performances of the Romans. It guided equally their artists and their writers. Their works were either the image or the copy of truth. The genius of invention, and that of execution, never infringed the proper limits. In the midst of profusion and magnificence the graces were distributed with a prudent hand. Every thing that went beyond the beautiful was skilfully retrenched.

THE experience of all nations and of all ages demonstrates, that whatever hath attained to perfection is not long before it degenerates. The revolution is more or less rapid, but always infallible. Among the Romans it was the work of a few ambitious writers, who despairing to excell, or even equal their predecessors, contrived to open to themselves a new career. To plans closely arranged, to ideas luminous and profound, to images full of dignity, to phrases of great energy, and to expressions suited to every subject, were substituted the spirit of wit, analogies more singular

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singular than precise, a continual contrast of words or ideas, a broken and loose style, more striking than natural; in a word, all the faults that are produced from an habitual desire of being brilliant and of pleasing. The arts were draw'n into the same vortex; they were carried to excess, too much refined and affected as eloquence and poetry were. All the productions of genius bore the same mark of degradation.

THEY emerged from this but only to fall into one still more fatal. The first men to whom it was given to cultivate the arts, intended to make impressions that should be lively and durable. In order to attain their end with greater certainty, they thought it necessary to enlarge every object. This mistake, which was a necessary consequence of their want of experience, led them to exaggeration. What had been done in the first instance from ignorance, was afterwards revived from flattery. The emperors who had raised an unlimited power upon the ruins of Roman liberty, would no longer be mere mortals. To gratify this extravagant pride, it was necessary to bestow upon them the attributes of the divinity. Their images, their statues, and their palaces no longer appeared in their true proportions, but all of them assumed a colossal magnitude. The nations prostrated themselves before these idols, and incense was burnt upon their altars. The people and the artists seduced the poets, the orators, and the historians, whose person would have been exposed to insult, and whose writings would have appeared satirical had they confined themselves within

within the boundaries of truth, taste, and decency.

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SUCH was the deplorable state of the arts and of letters in the south of Europe, when some barbarous hords pouring from the northern regions, annihilated what had been only corrupted. These people, after having covered the country places with human bones, and after having strewed the provinces with dead bodies, attacked the towns with that fury which was natural to them. They totally demolished several of those superb cities, in which were collected all the most perfect productions of the industry and genius of man in books, pictures, and statues. Such of those precious monuments as had neither been destroyed nor burnt, were either mutilated or devoted to the meanest uses. The little that had escaped the devastation was obscurely buried under heaps of ruins and ashes. Even Rome herself, so often pillaged by ferocious robbers, was at length become their residence. This mistress of nations, so long the terror and the admiration of the universe, was no more than an object of contempt and pity. In the midst of the ruins of the empire, a few unfortunate persons, who had escaped the ravages of the sword or of famine, dragged on a disgraceful existence, the slaves of those savages, to whose name even they were strangers, or whom they had enslaved or trampled under foot.

HISTORY has preserved the memory of several warlike people, who after having subdued enlightened nations had adopted their customs, their laws, and their knowledge. At the too fatal period

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riod which we are now describing, they were the vanquished who basely assimilated themselves to their barbarous conquerors. The reason of this is, that those mean persons who submitted to the foreign yoke, had lost a great deal of the knowledge and of the taste of their ancestors; and that the small remains of them they had preserved were not sufficient to enlighten a conqueror plunged in the grossest ignorance, and who, from the facility of their conquests, had accustomed themselves to consider the arts as a frivolous occupation and as the instrument of servitude.

BEFORE this age of darkness, Christianity had destroyed in Europe the idols of Pagan antiquity, and had only preserved some of the arts to assist the power of persuasion, and to favour the preaching of the gospel. Instead of a religion embellished with the gay divinities of Greece and Rome, it had substituted monuments of terror and gloominess, suited to the tragic events which signaled it's birth and it's progress. The Gothic ages have left us some monuments, the boldness and majesty of which still strike the eye amidst the ruins of taste and elegance. All their temples were built in the shape of the cross, which was also placed on the top of them, and they were filled with crucifixes and decorated with horrid and gloomy images, with scaffolds, tortures, martyrs, and executioners.

WHAT then became of the arts, condemned as they were to terrify the imagination by continual spectacles of blood, death, and future punishments? They became as hideous as the models

gels they were formed upon; ferocious as the princes and pontiffs that made use of them; mean and base as those who worshipped the productions of them; they frightened children from their very cradles; they aggravated the horrors of the grave by an eternal perspective of terrible shades; they spread melancholy over the whole face of the earth.

At length the period arrived for lessening those scaffoldings of religion and social policy, and this was accomplished by the inhabitants of Greece.

THIS country is at present barbarous to a great degree. It groans under the yoke of slavery and ignorance. Its climate and some ruins are all it preserves. There is no vestige left of urbanity, emulation, or industry. There are no more enterprises for the public good, no more objects for the productions of genius, no more enthusiasm for the restoration of arts, no more zeal for the recovery of liberty. The glory of Themistocles and of Alcibiades, the talents of Sophocles and Demosthenes, the learning of Lycurgus and of Plato, the policy of Pisistratus and of Pericles, and the labours of Phidias and of Apelles, are all forgotten, every thing hath been destroyed, and a profound darkness covers the region, formerly so productive of miraculous events.

THE slaves who walk over the ruins of statues, columns, palaces, temples, and amphitheatres, and who blindly trample so many riches under foot, have lost even the remembrance of the great exploits of which their country was the scene. They have even disfigured the names of the towns

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and the provinces. They are astonished that the desire of acquiring knowledge should attract into their country learned men and artists. Become insensible to the invaluable remains of their annihilated splendour, they would wish that the same spirit of indifference should be diffused over the whole world. To be allowed to visit this interesting spot it is necessary to be at great expences, to run great risks, and beside this, to obtain the protection of government.

THESE people, though during ten or twelve centuries, the interior part of their empire was the prey of civil, religious, and scholastic wars, and though exposed from without to bloody combats, destructive invasions, and continual losses, still preserved some taste and some knowledge; when the disciples of Mahommed, who, armed with the sword and the coran, had subdued with rapidity all the parts of so vast a dominion, seized upon the capital itself.

AT this period the fine arts returned with literature from Greece into Italy by the Mediterranean, which maintained the commerce between Asia and Europe. The Hunns, under the name of Goths, had driven them from Rome to Constantinople; and the very same people, under the name of Turks, expelled them again from Constantinople to Rome. That city, destined as it was to rule by force or by stratagem, cultivated and revived the arts, which had been a long time buried in oblivion.

WALLS, columns, statues, and vases, were draw'n forth from the dust of ages, and from the ruins

ruins of Italy, to serve as models of the fine arts at their revival. The genius which presides over design raised three of the arts at once; I mean architecture, sculpture, and painting. Architecture, in which convenience itself regulated those proportions of symmetry that contribute to give pleasure to the eye; sculpture, which flatters princes, and is the reward of great men; and painting, which perpetuates the remembrance of noble actions, and the examples of mutual tenderness. Italy alone had more superb cities, more magnificent edifices, than all the rest of Europe. Rome, Florence, and Venice gave rise to three schools of original painters: so much does genius depend upon the imagination, and imagination upon the climate. Had Italy possessed the treasures of Mexico, and the productions of Asia, how much more would the arts have been enriched by the discovery of the East and West Indies.

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THAT country, of old so fruitful in heroes, and since in artists, beheld literature, which is the inseparable companion of the arts, flourish a second time. It had been overwhelmed by the barbarism of a latinity corrupted and disfigured by religious enthusiasm. A mixture of Egyptian theology, Grecian philosophy, and Hebrew poetry; such was the Latin language in the mouths of Monks, who chanted all night, and taught by day things and words they did not understand.

THE mythology of the Romans revived in literature the graces of antiquity. The spirit of

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imitation borrowed them at first indiscriminately. Custom introduced taste in the choice of those rich treasures. The Italian genius, too fertile not to invent, blended it's enthusiasm and caprice with the rules and examples of it's old masters, and joined even the fictions of fairy land with those of fable. The works of imagination partook of the manners of the age and of the national character. Petrarch had draw'n that celestial virgin, beauty, which served as a model for the heroines of chivalry. Armida was the emblem of the coquetry which reigned in her time in Italy. Ariosto confounded every species of poetry, in a work, which may rather be called the labyrinth of poetry, than a regular poem. That author will stand alone in the history of literature, like the enchanted palaces of his own construction in the deserts.

LETTERS and arts, after crossing the sea, passed the Alps. In the same manner as the Crusades had brought the oriental romances into Italy, the wars of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. introduced into France some principles of good literature. Francis I., if he had not been into Italy in order to contend for the Milanese with Charles V. would never, perhaps, have been ambitious of the title of *the Father of letters*: but these seeds of knowledge and improvement in the arts were lost in the religious wars. They were recovered again, if I may be allowed the expression, in scenes of war and destruction; and the time came when they were again to revive and flourish. Italy was as much distinguished in the 16th century, as France

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was in the succeeding one, which by the victories of Lewis XIV. or rather by the genius of the great men that flourished together under his reign, deserves to make an epocha in the history of the fine arts.

IN France all the efforts of the human mind were at once exerted in producing works of genius, as they had before been in Italy. It's powers were displayed in the marble, and on the canvas, in public edifices and gardens, as well as in eloquence and poetry. Every thing was submitted to it's influence, not only the arts of ingenuity, which are mechanical, and require manual labour, but those also which depend solely on the mind. Every thing bore the stamp of genius. The colours displayed in natural objects enlivened the works of imagination; and the human passions animated the designs of the pencil. Man gave spirit to matter, and body to spirit. But it deserves to be particularly observed that this happened at a time when a passion for glory animated a nation, great and powerful by it's situation, and the extent of it's empire. The sense of honour which raised it in it's own estimation, and which then distinguished it in the eyes of all Europe, was it's soul, it's instinct, and supplied the place of that liberty which had formerly given rise to the arts of genius in the republics of Athens and of Rome, which had revived them in that of Florence, and compelled them to flourish on the bleak and cloudy borders of the Thames.

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WHAT would not genius have effected in France, had it been under the influence of laws only, when it's exertions were so great under the dominion of the most absolute of kings? When we see what energy patriotism has given to the English, in spite of the inactivity of their climate, we may judge what it might have produced among the French, where a most mild temperature of season leads a people, naturally sensible and lively, to invention and enjoyment. We may conceive what it's effects would have been in a country, where, as in ancient Greece, are to be found men of active and lively genius, fitted for invention, from being warmed by the most powerful and enlivening rays of the sun; where there are men strong and robust in a climate, in which even the cold excites to labour; in which we meet with temperate provinces between north and south; sea-ports together with navigable rivers; vast plains abounding in corn; hills loaded with vineyards and fruits of all sorts; salt pits which may be increased at pleasure; pastures covered with horses; mountains clothed with the finest woods; a country every where peopled with laborious hands, which are the first resources for subsistence; the common materials for the arts, and the superfluities of luxury; in a word, where we meet with the commerce of Athens, the industry of Corinth, the soldiery of Sparta, and the flocks of Arcadia. With all these advantages, which Greece once possessed, France might have carried the fine arts to as great a height as that parent of genius, had she been
subject

subject to the same laws, and given a scope to the same exercise of reason and liberty, by which great men, and the rulers of powerful nations, are produced.

NEXT to the superiority of legislation among modern nations, to raise them to an equality with the antients in works of genius, there has, perhaps, been wanting only an improvement in language. The Romans, who, like the Greeks, knew the influence of dialect over the manners, had endeavoured to extend their language with their arms; and they had succeeded in causing it to be adopted in all places where they had established their dominion. Almost all Europe spoke Latin, except only a few obscure men, who had taken refuge among inaccessible mountains: but the invasion of the barbarians soon changed the nature of this language. With the harmonious sounds of an idiom polished by genius and by delicate organs, these people, who were warriors and hunters, blended the rude accents, and the coarse expressions they brought along with them from their gloomy forests, and severe climate. There were soon as many different languages as forms of governments. At the revival of letters, these languages must naturally have acquired a more sublime and a more agreeable pronunciation. This improvement took place but very slowly, because all those who had any talents for writing, disdaining a language destitute of graces, strength, and amenity, employed in their performances, with greater or less propriety, the language of the antient Romans.

THE Italians were the first who shook off this humiliating yoke. Their language, with harmony, accent, and quantity, is peculiarly adapted to express all the images of poetry, and convey all the delightful impressions of music. These two arts have consecrated this language to the harmony of sound, it being the most proper to express it.

THE French language holds the superiority in prose; if it be not the language of the Gods, it is, at least, that of reason and of truth. Prose is peculiarly adapted to convince the understanding in philosophical researches. It enlightens the minds of those whom nature has blessed with superior talents, who seem placed between princes and their subjects to instruct and direct mankind. At a period when liberty has no longer her tribunes, nor amphitheatres to excite commotions in vast assemblies of the people, a language which spreads itself in books, which is read in all countries, which serves as the common interpreter of all other languages, and as the vehicle of all sorts of ideas; a language ennobled, refined, softened, and above all, settled by the genius of writers, and the polish of courts, becomes at length universally prevailing.

THE English language has likewise had it's poets and it's prose-writers, who have gained it the character of energy and boldness, sufficient to render it immortal. May it be learned among all nations who aspire not to be slaves! They will dare to think, act, and govern themselves. It is not the language of words, but of ideas; and the
English

English have none but such as are strong and forcible; they are the first who ever made use of the expression, *the majesty of the people*, and that alone is sufficient to consecrate a language.

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THE Spaniards have hitherto properly had neither prose nor verse, though they have a language formed to excel in both. Brilliant and sonorous as pure gold, it's pronunciation is grave and regular like the dances of that nation; it is grand and decent, like the manners of antient chivalry. This language may claim some distinction, and even acquire a superior degree of perfection, whenever there shall be found in it many such writers as Cervantes and Mariana. When it's academy shall have put to silence the inquisition and it's universities, that language will raise itself to great ideas, and to sublime truths, to which it is invited by the natural pride of the people who speak it.

PRIOR to all other living languages is the German, that mother tongue, that original native language of Europe. From thence the English and French too have been formed, by the mixture of the German with the Latin. However, as it seems little calculated to please the eye, or to be pronounced by delicate organs, it has been spoken only by the people, and has been introduced but of late into books. The few writers that have appeared in it, seemed to shew that it belonged to a country where the fine arts, poetry, and eloquence, were not destined to flourish. But on a sudden, genius has exerted her powers; and originals, in more than one species of poetry,

poetry, have appeared rather in considerable numbers, sufficient to enter into competition with other nations.

LANGUAGES could not be cultivated and refined to a certain degree, but the arts of every kind must at the same time acquire an equal degree of perfection; and indeed the monuments of these arts have so much increased throughout Europe, that the barbarism of succeeding people and of future ages will find it difficult entirely to destroy them.

BUT as commotions and revolutions are so natural to mankind, there is only wanting some glowing genius, some enthusiast, to set the world again in flames. The people of the East, or of the North, are still ready to enslave and plunge all Europe into it's former darkness. Would not an irruption of Tartars or Africans into Italy, be sufficient to overturn churches, and palaces, to confound in one general ruin the idols of religion, and the master-pieces of art? And as we are so much attached to these works of luxury, we should have the less spirit to defend them. A city, which it has cost two centuries to decorate, is burnt and ravaged in a single day. Perhaps, with one stroke of his axe, a Tartar may dash in pieces the statue of Voltaire, that Pigalle could not finish within the compass of ten years; and we still labour for immortality; vain atoms as we are, impelled, the one by the others, into that obscurity from whence we came. Ye nations, whether artisans or soldiers, what are ye in the hands of nature,

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but the sport of her laws, destined by turns to set dust in motion, and to reduce the work again to dust.

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BUT it is by means of the arts that man enjoys his existence, and survives himself.—Ages of ignorance never emerge from their oblivion. There remains no more trace of them after their existence, than before they began to exist. There is no possibility of indicating the place or time of their passage, nor can we mark on the ground belonging to a barbarous people, *it is here they lived*; for they leave not even ruins to lead us to collect that they have ever existed. It is invention alone that gives man power over matter and time. The genius of Homer has rendered the Greek language indelible. Harmony and reason have placed the eloquence of Cicero above all the sacred orators. The pontiffs themselves, polished and enlightened by the information and attractive influence of the arts, by being admirers and protectors of them, have assisted the human mind to break the chains of superstition. Commerce has hastened the progress of art by means of the luxury which wealth has diffused. All the efforts of the mind and the exertions of manual labour have been united to embellish, and to improve the condition of the human species. Industry and invention, together with the enjoyments procured by the New World, have penetrated as far as the polar circle, and the fine arts are attempting to rise superior to the obstacles of nature even at Petersburg.

ORATORS,

ORATORS, poets, historians, painters, and statuary, are made to be the friends of great men. Heralds of their fame during their life, they are the eternal preservers of it, when they no longer exist. In rendering their names immortal, they immortalise themselves. It is by these several orders of men, that the nations distinguish themselves among contemporary nations. The arts, after having rendered them illustrious, also restore wealth to them, when they are become indigent. It is antient Rome which at present subsists modern Rome. Let the people whom they honour, both at the present and at future times, if they be not ungrateful, honour them in their turn. Ye nations, you will pass away, but their productions will remain. The torch of genius, which enlightens you, will be extinguished if you neglect it; and after having walked in darkness for some ages, you will fall in the abyss of oblivion, which hath swallowed up so many nations that have preceded you, not because they have been destitute of virtues, but of a sacred voice to celebrate them.

BEWARE especially of adding persecution to indifference. It is certainly enough for a writer to brave the resentment of the intolerant magistrate, of the fanatic spirit, of the suspicious nobleman, and of all ranks of men proud of their prerogatives, without being also exposed to the severities of government. To inflict upon a philosopher an infamous or capital punishment, is to condemn him to pusillanimity or to silence: it is to
 stifle

stifle or to banish genius; it is to put a stop to national information, and to the progress of knowledge.

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It will be said, that these reflections are those of a man who is thoroughly determined to speak without circumspection of persons and things; of persons, whom one scarce dares to address with frankness; of things, concerning which a writer endowed with a little share of sense, neither thinks nor expresses himself as the vulgar; and who yet would wish to escape proscription. This may possibly be the case, and wherefore should it not be? Nevertheless, whatever may happen, I will never betray the honourable cause of liberty. If I experience nothing but misfortunes from it, which I neither expect nor dread, so much the worse for the author of those misfortunes. He will be detested during life, for one instant of my existence which he shall have disposed of with injustice and violence. His name will be handed down to future ages branded with ignominy; and this cruel sentence would be independent of the small value, or of the little merit of my writings.

To the train of letters and fine arts philosophy is annexed, which one would imagine ought rather to direct them: but appearing later than they did, can only be considered as their attendant. Arts arise from the very necessities of mankind in the earliest state of the human mind. Letters are the flowers of it's youth; children of the imagination, being themselves fond of ornament, they decorate every thing they approach; and this turn for embellishment produces what are properly

Philosophy.

perly called the fine arts, or the arts of luxury and elegance, which give the polish to the primary arts of necessity. It is then we see the winged genii of sculpture fluttering over the porticos of architecture; and the genii of painting entering palaces, representing the heavens upon a cieling, sketching out upon wool and silk all the animated scenes of rural life, and tracing to the mind upon canvas the useful truths of history, as well as the agreeable chimæras of fable.

WHEN the mind has been employed on the pleasures of the imagination and of the senses, when governments have arrived to a degree of maturity, reason arises and bestows on the nations a certain turn for reflection; this is the age of philosophy. She advances with gradual steps, and proceeds silently along, announcing the decline of empires which she attempts in vain to support. She closed the latter ages of the celebrated republics of Greece and Rome. Athens had no philosophers till the eve of her ruin, which they seemed to foretell: Cicero and Lucretius did not compose their writings on the nature of the gods, and the system of the world, till the confusion of the civil wars arose, and hastened the destruction of liberty.

THALES, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, had however laid the foundations of natural philosophy in the theories of the elements of matter; but the rage of forming systems successively subverted these several principles. Socrates then appeared, who brought back philosophy to the principles of true wisdom and virtue: it was that alone he loved, practised, and taught;

persuaded that morality and not science was conducive to the happiness of man. Plato, his disciple, though a natural philosopher, and instructed in the mysteries of nature by his travels into Egypt, ascribed every thing to the soul, and scarce any thing to nature; he confounded philosophy with theological speculations, and the knowledge of the universe with the ideas of the divinity. Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, turned his inquiries less on the nature of the Deity, than on that of man and of animals. His natural history has been transmitted to posterity, though it was holden only in moderate estimation by his contemporaries. Epicurus, who lived nearly about the same period, revived the atoms of Democritus, a system, which doubtless balanced that of the four elements of Aristotle; and as these were the two prevailing systems at that time, no improvements were made in natural philosophy. The moral philosophers engaged the attention of the people, who understood their system better than that of the natural philosopher. They established schools; for as soon as opinions gain a degree of reputation, parties are immediately formed to support them.

IN these circumstances, Greece, agitated by interior commotions, after having been tor'n with an intestine war, was subdued by Macedonia, and it's government dissolved by the Romans. Then public calamities turned the hearts and understandings of men to morality. Zeno and Democritus, who had been only natural philosophers, became, a considerable time after their death, the
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heads of two sects of moral philosophers, more addicted to theology than physics, rather casuists than philosophers; or it might rather be affirmed, that philosophy was given up and confined entirely to the sophists. The Romans, who had borrowed every thing from the Greeks, made no discoveries in the true system of philosophy. Among the ancients it made little progress; because it was entirely confined to morality: among the moderns it's first steps have been more fortunate, because they have been guided by the light of natural knowledge.

WE must not reckon the interval of near a thousand years, during which period philosophy, science, arts, and letters, were buried in the ruins of the Roman empire, among the ashes of ancient Italy, and the dust of the cloysters. In Asia their monuments were still preserved though not attended to, and in Europe some fragments of them remained which she did not know. The world was divided into Christian and Mohammedan, and every where covered with the blood of nations: ignorance alone triumphed under the standard of the cross or the crescent. Before these dreaded signs, every knee was bent, every spirit trembled.

PHILOSOPHY continued in a state of infancy, pronouncing only the names of God and of the soul: her attention was solely engaged on matters of which she should for ever have remained ignorant. Time, argument, and all her application was wasted on questions that were, at least, idle; questions, for the most part, void of sense, not to be defined, and not to be determined

from the nature of their object; and which, therefore, proved an eternal source of disputes, schisms, sects, hatred, persecution; and national as well as religious wars.

IN the mean time, the Arabs, after their conquests, carried away, as it were in triumph, the spoils of genius and philosophy. Aristotle fell into their hands, preserved from the ruins of antient Greece. These destroyers of empires had some sciences of which they had been the inventors; among which arithmetic is to be numbered. By the knowledge of astronomy and geometry they discovered the coasts of Africa, which they laid waste and peopled again; and they were always great proficient in medicine. That science, which has, perhaps, no greater recommendation in it's favour, than it's affinity with chymistry and natural knowledge, rendered them as celebrated as astrology, which is another support of empirical imposition. Avicenna and Averroës, who were equally skilled in physic, mathematics, and philosophy, preserved the tradition of true science by translations and commentaries. But let us imagine what must become of Aristotle, translated from Greek into Arabic, and after that, from Arabic into Latin, under the hands of monks, who wanted to adapt the philosophy of paganism to the systems of Moses and Christ. This confusion of opinions, ideas, and language, stopped for a considerable time the progress of science, and the reducing of it into a regular system. The divine overturned the materials brought by the philosopher, who sapped the very foundations laid

by his rival. However, with a few stones from one, and much sand from the other, some wretched architects raised a strange Gothic monument, called the philosophy of the schools. Continually amended, renewed, and supported, from age to age, by Irish or Spanish metaphysicians, it maintained itself till about the time of the discovery of the New World, which was destined to change the face of the Old one.

LIGHT sprang from the midst of darkness. An English monk applied himself to the practice of chymistry, and paving the way for the invention of gun-powder, which was to bring America into subjection to Europe, opened the avenues of true science by experimental philosophy. Thus philosophy issued out of the cloyster, where ignorance remained. When Boccacio had exposed the debauched lives of the regular and secular clergy, Galileo ventured to form conjectures upon the figure of the earth. Superstition was alarmed at it, and it's clamours as well as it's menaces were hear'd : but philosophy tore off the mask from the monster, and rent the veil under which truth had been hidden. The weakness and falsehood of popular opinions was perceived, on which society was then founded ; but in order to put an effectual stop to error, it was necessary to be acquainted with the laws of nature, and the causes of her various phænomena : and that was the object philosophy had in view.

As soon as Copernicus was dead, after he had, by the power of reason, conjectured that the sun was in the center of our world, Galileo arose, and confirmed

confirmed, by the invention of the telescope, the true system of astronomy, which either had been unknow'n, or lay in oblivion ever since Pythagoras had conceived it. While Gassendi was reviving the elements of antient philosophy, or the atoms of Epicurus, Descartes imagined and combined the elements of a new philosophy, or his ingenious and subtile vortexes. Almost about the same time, Toricelli invented, at Florence, the barometer, to determine the weight of the air; Pascal measured the height of the mountains of Auvergne; and Boyle, in England, verified and confirmed the various experiments of both.

DESCARTES had taught the art of doubting, in order to undeceive the mind previous to instruction. The method of doubting proposed by him was the grand instrument of science, and the most signal service that could be rendered to the human mind under the darkness which surrounded, and the chains which fettered it. Bayle, by applying that method to opinions the best authorised by the sanction of time and power, has made us sensible of it's importance.

CHANCELLOR Bacon, a philosopher, but unsuccessful at court, as friar Bacon had been in the cloyster, like him the harbinger rather than the establisher of the new philosophy, had protested equally against the prejudice of the senses and the schools, as against those phantoms he styled the idols of the understanding. He had foretold truths he could not discover. In conformity to the result of his reasoning, which might be considered as oracular, while experimental philosophy was

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discovering facts, rational philosophy was in search of causes. Both contributed to the study of mathematics, which were to guide the efforts of the mind, and insure their success. It was, in fact, the science of algebra applied to geometry, and the application of geometry to natural philosophy, which made Newton conjecture the true system of the world. Upon taking a view of the heavens, he perceived in the fall of bodies to the earth, and in the motions of the heavenly bodies, a certain analogy which implied an universal principle, differing from impulse, the only visible cause of all their movements. From the study of astronomy he next applied himself to that of optics, and this led him to conjecture the origin of light; and the experiments which he made in consequence of this inquiry, reduced it into a system.

AT the time when Descartes died, Newton and Leibnitz were but just born, who were to finish, correct, and bring to perfection what he had begun; that is to say, the establishing of sound philosophy. These two men alone greatly contributed to it's quick and rapid progress. One carried the knowledge of God and the soul as far as reason could lead it; and the unsuccessfulness of his attempts undeceived the human mind for ever with respect to such false systems of metaphysics. The other extended the principles of natural philosophy and the mathematics much further than the genius of many ages had been able to carry them, and pointed out the road to truth. At the same time Locke, preceded by Hobbes, a man on whom nature had bestowed an uncommon understand-

ing, and who had remained obscure from the very boldness of his principles, which ought to have had a contrary effect; Locke, I say, attacked scientific prejudices, even into the intrenchments of the schools: he dissipated all those phantoms of the imagination, which Malebranche suffered to spring up again, after he had pointed out their absurdity, because he did not attack the foundation on which they were supported.

BUT we are not to suppose that philosophers alone have discovered and imagined every thing. It is the course of events which has given a certain tendency to the actions and thoughts of mankind. A complication of natural or moral causes, a gradual improvement in politics, joined to the progress of study and of the sciences, a combination of circumstances which it was as impossible to hasten as to foresee, must have contributed to the revolution that has prevailed in the understandings of men. Among nations, as among individuals, the body and soul act and re-act alternately upon each other. Popular opinions infect even philosophers, and philosophers are guides to the people. Galileo had asserted, that as the earth turned round the sun, there must be Antipodes; and Drake proved the fact, by a voyage round the world. The church styled itself universal, and the pope called himself master of the earth: and yet, more than two-thirds of it's inhabitants did not so much as know there was any Catholic religion, and particularly that there was a pope. Europeans, who have travelled

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velled and trafficked every where, taught Europe that one portion of the globe adopted the visionary opinions of Mohammed, and a still larger one lived in the darkness of idolatry, or in the total ignorance and unenlightened state of atheism. Thus philosophy extended the empire of human knowlege, by the discovery of the errors of superstition, and of the truths of nature.

ITALY, whose impatient genius penetrated through the obstacles that surrounded it, was the first that founded an academy of natural philosophy. France and England, who were to aggrandize themselves even by their competition, raised at one time two everlasting monuments to the improvement of philosophy: two academies, from whence all the learned men of Europe derive their information, and in which they deposit all their stores of knowlege. From hence have been brought to light a great number of the mysterious points in nature; experiments, phænomena, discoveries in the arts and sciences, the secrets of electricity, and the causes of the Aurora Borealis. Hence have proceeded the instruments and means of purifying air on board of ships, for making sea-water fit to be drunk, for determining the figure of the earth, and ascertaining the longitudes; for improving agriculture, and for producing more grain, with less seed, and less labour.

ARISTOTLE had reigned ten centuries in all the schools of Europe; and the Christians, after losing the guidance of reason, were able to reco-

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ver it again only by following his footsteps. Their implicit attachment to that philosopher had, for a considerable time, caused them to err, in blindly following him through the darkness of theological doctrines. But at length Descartes pointed out the way, and Newton supplied the power of extricating them out of that labyrinth. Doubt had dissipated prejudices, and the method of analysis had found out the truth. After the two Bacons, Galileo, Descartes, Hobbes, Locke, and Bayle, Leibnitz and Newton, after the memoirs of the academies of Florence and Leipzig, of Paris and London, there still remained a great work to be composed, in order to perpetuate the sciences and philosophy. This work hath now appeared.

THIS book, which contains all the errors and all the truths that have issued from the human mind, from the doctrines of theology to the speculations on insects; which contains an account of every work of the hands of men from a ship to a pin; this repository of the intelligence of all nations, which would have been more perfect, had it not been executed in the midst of all kinds of persecutions and of obstacles; this repository will, in future ages, characterise that of philosophy, which, after so many advantages procured to mankind, ought to be considered as a divinity on earth. It is she who unites, enlightens, aids, and comforts mankind. She bestows every thing upon them, without exacting any worship in return. She requires of them, not the sacrifice of their passions, but a reasonable, useful, and mo-

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derate exercise of all their faculties. Daughter of nature, dispenser of her gifts, interpreter of her rights, she consecrates her intelligence and her labour to the use of man. She renders him better, that he may be happier. She detests only tyranny and imposture, because they oppress mankind. She does not desire to rule, but she exacts of such as govern, to consider public happiness as the only source of their enjoyment. She avoids contests, and the name of sects, but she tolerates them all. The blind and the wicked calumniate her; the former are afraid of perceiving their errors; and the latter of having them detected. Ungrateful children, who rebel against a tender mother, when she wishes to free them from their errors and vices, which occasion the calamities of mankind!

LIGHT, however, spreads insensibly over a more extensive horizon. Literature has formed a kind of empire which prepares the way for making Europe be considered as one single republican power. In truth, if philosophy be ever enabled to insinuate itself into the minds of sovereigns or their ministers, the system of politics will be improved, and rendered simple. Humanity will be more regarded in all plans; the public good will enter into negotiations, not merely as an expression, but as an object of utility even to kings.

PRINTING has already made such a progress, that it can never be put a stop to in any state, without lowering the people in order to advance the authority of government. Books enlighten the
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body of the people, humanise the great, are the delight of the leisure hours of the rich, and inform all the classes of society. The sciences bring to perfection the different branches of political œconomy. Even the errors of systematical persons are dispelled by the productions of the press, because reasoning and discussion try them by the test of truth.

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AN intercourse of knowledge is become necessary for industry, and literature alone maintains that communication. The reading of a voyage round the world has, perhaps, occasioned more attempts of that kind; for interest alone cannot find the means of enterprise. At present nothing can be cultivated without some study, or without the knowledge that has been handed down and diffused by reading. Princes themselves have not recovered their rights from the usurpations of the clergy, but by the assistance of that knowledge which has undeceived the people with respect to the abuses of all spiritual power.

BUT it would be the greatest folly of the human mind to have employed all its powers to increase the authority of kings, and to break the several chains that held it in subjection, in order to become the slave of despotism. The same courage that religion inspires to withdraw conscience from the tyranny exercised over opinion, the honest man, the citizen, and friend of the people ought to maintain, to free the nations from the tyranny of such powers as conspire against the liberty of mankind. Woe to that state in which there is not to be found one single defender of the public
rights

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rights of the nation. The kingdom, with all it's riches, it's trade, it's nobles, and it's citizens, must soon fall into unavoidable anarchy. It is the laws that are to save a nation from destruction, and the freedom of writing is to support and preserve laws. But what is the foundation and bulwark of the laws? It is morality.

Morals.

ATTEMPTS have too long been made to degrade man. His detractors have made a monster of him. In their spleen they have loaded him with outrages; the guilty satisfaction of lowering the human species hath alone conducted their gloomy pencils. Who art thou then who darest thus to insult thy fellow-creatures? What place gave thee birth? Is it from the inmost recesses of thy heart that thou hast poured forth so many blasphemies? If thy pride had been less infatuated, or thy disposition less ferocious and barbarous, thou wouldst have seen only in man a being always feeble, often seduced by error, sometimes carried away by imagination, but produced from the hands of nature with virtuous propensities.

MAN is born with the seeds of virtue, although he be not born virtuous. He doth not attain to this sublime state till after he hath studied himself, till after he hath become acquainted with his duties, and contracted the habit of fulfilling them. The science which leads to that high degree of perfection is called morality. It is the rule of actions, and if one may be allowed the expression, the art of virtue. Encouragements and praises are due for all the labours undertaken to remove
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the calamities which furround us, to increase the number of our enjoyments, to embellish the dream of our life, to exalt, to improve, and to illustrate our species. Eternal blessings upon those who by their studies and by their genius have procured any of these advantages to human nature! But the first crown will be for that wise man whose affecting and enlightened writings will have had a more noble aim, that of making us better.

THE hopes of obtaining so great a glory hath given rise to numberless productions. What a variety of useless and even pernicious books! They are in general the work of priests and their disciples, who not chusing to see that religion, should consider men only in the relation they stand in to the divinity, made it necessary to look for another ground for the relations they bear to one another. If there be an universal system of morality it cannot be the effect of a particular cause. It has been the same in past ages, and it will continue the same in future times: it cannot then be grounded on religious opinions, which, ever since the beginning of the world, and from one pole to the other, have continually varied. Greece had vicious deities, the Romans had them likewise: the senseless worshipper of the Fetiches, adores rather a devil than a God. Every people made gods for themselves, and gave them such attributes as they chose: to some they ascribed goodness, to others cruelty, to some immorality, and to others the greatest sanctity and severity of manners. One would imagine, that every na-
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tion intended to deify it's own passions and opinions. Notwithstanding this diversity in religious systems and modes of worship, all nations have perceived that men ought to be just; they have all honoured as virtues, goodness, pity, friendship, fidelity, paternal tenderness, filial respect, sincerity, gratitude, patriotism; in a word, all those sentiments which may be considered as so many ties adapted to unite men more closely to one another. The origin of that uniformity of judgment, so constant, so general, ought not then to be looked for in the midst of contradictory and transient opinions. If the ministers of religion have appeared to think otherwise, it is because by their system they were enabled to regulate all the actions of mankind, to dispose of their fortunes, and command their wills, and to secure to themselves, in the name of heaven, the tributary government of the world.

THEIR empire was so absolute that they had succeeded in establishing that barbarous system of morality, which placed the only pleasures that make life supportable, in the rank of the greatest crimes; an abject morality, which imposed the obligation of being pleased with humiliation and shame; an extravagant morality which threatened with the same punishments, both the foibles of love and the most atrocious actions; a superstitious morality which enjoined to murder, without compassion, all those who swerved from the prevailing opinions; a puerile morality, which founded the most essential duties upon tales equally disgusting and ridiculous; an interested morality,

rality, which admitted no other virtues than those which were useful to priesthood, nor no other crimes than those which were contrary to it. If priests had only encouraged men to observe natural morality by the hope or the fear of future rewards and punishments they would have deserved well of society; but in endeavouring to support by violence, useful tenets, which had only been introduced by the mild way of persuasion, they have removed the veil which concealed the depth of their ambition: the mask is fallen off.

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It is more than two thousand years since Socrates, spreading out a veil above our heads, had declared, that nothing of what was passing beyond that veil concerned us, and that the actions of men were not good because they were pleasing to the gods, but that they were pleasing to the gods because they were good; a principle which separated morality from religion.

ACCORDINGLY, at the tribunal of philosophy and reason, morality is a science, the object of which is the preservation and common happiness of the human species. To this double end all it's rules ought to be referred. Their natural, constant, and eternal principle is in man himself, and in a resemblance there is in the general organization of men, which includes a similarity of wants, of pleasures and pains, of force and weakness; a similarity from whence arises the necessity of society, or of a common opposition against such dangers as are equally incident to each individual, which proceeds from nature herself, and threatens man on all sides. Such is the origin

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of particular connections and domestic virtues: such is the origin of general duties and of public virtues: such is the source of the notion of personal and public utility, the source of all compacts between individuals, and of all laws.

THERE is, properly speaking, only one virtue, which is justice, and only one duty, to make one's self happy. The virtuous man is he who hath the most exact notions of justice and happiness, and whose conduct conforms most rigorously to them. There are two tribunals, that of nature and that of the laws.

THE law chastises crimes, nature chastises vices: The law presents the gallows to the assassin, nature presents dropsy or consumption to intemperance.

SEVERAL writers have endeavoured to trace the first principles of morality in the sentiments of friendship, tenderness, compassion, honour, and benevolence, because they found them engraven on the human heart. But did they not also find there hatred, jealousy, revenge, pride, and the love of dominion? For what reason therefore have they founded morality on the former principles rather than on the latter? It is because they have understood that the former were of general advantage to society, and the others fatal to it. Those philosophers have perceived the necessity of morality, they have conceived what it ought to be, but have not discovered it's leading and fundamental principle. The very sentiments, indeed, which they adopt as the ground work of morality, because they appear to be serviceable

to the common good, if left to themselves would be very prejudicial to it. How can we determine to punish the guilty if we listen only to the pleas of compassion? How shall we guard against partiality, if we consult only the dictates of friendship? How shall we avoid being favourable to idleness, if we attend only to the sentiments of benevolence? All these virtues have their limits, beyond which they degenerate into vices, and those limits are settled by the invariable rules of essential justice; or, which is the same thing, by the common interests of men united together in society, and the constant object of that union.

Is it on it's own account that valour is ranked among the number of virtues? No; it is on account of the service it is of to society. This is evident from the circumstance of it's being punished as a crime in a man who makes use of it to disturb the public peace. Wherefore is drunkenness a vice? Because every man is bound to contribute to the common good, and to fulfil that obligation, he must maintain the free exercise of his faculties. Wherefore are certain actions more blameable in a magistrate or general, than in a private man? Because greater inconveniencies result from them to society.

THE obligations of the man separated from society are unknow'n to me, since I can neither perceive the source nor the end of them. As he lives by himself he is certainly at liberty to live for himself alone. No being has a right to require succours from him which he does not implore for himself. It is quite the contrary with
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respect to a person who lives in the social state. He is nothing by himself, and is supported only by what furrounds him. His possessions, his enjoyments, his powers, and even his own existence, all belong entirely to the body of the state: he owes them all to the body politic, of which he is a member.

THE misfortunes of society become those of the citizen; he runs the risk of being crushed, whatever part of the edifice may fall down. If he should commit an injustice he is threatened with a similar one. If he should give himself up to crimes, others may become criminal to his prejudice. He must therefore tend constantly to the general good, since it is upon this prosperity that his own depends.

If one single individual should attend only to his interest without any concern for those of the public; if he should exempt himself from the common duty, under pretence that the actions of one individual cannot have a determined influence upon the general order, other persons will also be desirous of indulging their personal propensities. Then all the members of the republic will become alternately executioners and victims. Every one will commit and receive injuries, every one will rob and be robbed, every one will strike and receive a blow. A state of warfare will prevail between all sorts of individuals. The state will be ruined, and the citizens will be ruined with the state.

THE first men who collected themselves into society were undoubtedly not immediately sensible
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of the whole of these truths. The idea of their strength being most prevalent in them, they were probably desirous of obtaining every thing by the exertion of it. Repeated calamities warned them in process of time of the necessity of forming conventions. Reciprocal obligations increased in proportion as the necessity of them was felt; thus it is that duty began with society.

DUTY may therefore be defined to be the rigid obligation of doing whatever is suitable to society. It includes the practice of all the virtues, since there is not one of them which is not useful to a civilized body; and it excludes all the vices, because there is not one which is not prejudicial to it.

It would be reasoning pitifully to imagine with some corrupt persons, that men have a right to despise all the virtues, under pretence that they are only institutions of convenience. Wretch that thou art, wouldst thou live in a society which cannot subsist without them; wouldst thou enjoy the advantages which result from them, and wouldst thou think thyself dispensed from practising, or even from holding them in estimation? What could possibly be the object of them if they were not connected with man? Would this great name have been given to acts that were merely barren? On the contrary, it is their necessity which constitutes their essence and their merit. Let me once more repeat, that all morality consists in the maintenance of order. Its principles are steady and uniform, but the application of them varies sometimes according to the climate

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and to the local or political situation of the people. Polygamy is in general more natural to hot than to cold climates. Circumstances, however, of the times, in opposition to the rule of the climate, may order monogamy in one island of Africa, and permit polygamy in Kamtschatka, if one be a means of putting a stop to the excess of population at Madagascar, and the other, of hastening it's progress upon the coasts of the frozen sea. But nothing can authorise adultery and fornication in those two zones, when conventions have established the laws of marriage or of property in the use of women.

It is the same thing with respect to all the lands and to property. What would be a robbery in a state, where property is justly distributed, becomes subsistence for life in a state where property is in common. Thus it is, that theft and adultery were not permitted at Sparta; but the public right allowed what would be considered elsewhere as theft and adultery. It was not the wife or the property of another person that was then taken; but the wife and the property of all, when the laws granted as a reward to dexterity, every advantage it could procure to itself.

It is every where know'n what is just and unjust, but the same ideas are not universally attached to the same actions. In hot countries, where the climate requires no cloathing, modesty is not offended by nakedness; but the abuse, whatever it may be, of the intercourse between the sexes, and premature attempts upon virginity, are crimes which must disgust.

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In India, where every thing conspires to make a virtue even of the act itself of generation, it is a cruelty to put the cow to death which nourishes man with her milk, and to destroy those animals, whose life is not prejudicial, nor their death useful, to the human species. The Iroquois, or the Huron, who kill their father with a stroke of a club, rather than expose him to perish of hunger, or upon the pile of the enemy, think they do an act of filial piety in obeying the last wishes of their parent, who asks for death from them as a favour. The means the most opposite in appearance, tend all equally to the same end, the maintenance and the prosperity of the body politic.

SUCH is that universal morality, which being inherent in the nature of man, is also inherent in the nature of societies, that morality which may vary only in it's application, but never in it's essence; that morality, in a word, to which all the laws must refer and be subordinate. According to this common rule of all our public and private actions, let us examine whether there ever were or ever can be good morals in Europe.

WE live under the influence of three codes, the natural, the civil, and the religious code. It is evident, that as long as these three sorts of legislations shall be contradictory to each other, it will be impossible to be virtuous. It will sometimes be necessary to trample upon nature in order to obey social institutions, and to counteract social institutions to conform to the precepts of religion. The consequence of this will be, that while we

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are alternately infringing upon these several authorities, we shall respect neither of them, and that we shall neither be men, nor citizens, nor pious persons.

Good morals would therefore require previous reform, which should reduce these codes to identity. Religion ought neither to forbid nor to prescribe any thing to us, but what is prescribed or forbidden by the civil law, and the civil and religious laws ought to model themselves upon natural law, which hath been, is, and will always be, the strongest. From whence it appears, that a true legislator hath not yet existed; that it was neither Moses, nor Solon, nor Numa, nor Mohammed, nor even Confucius; that it is not only in Athens, but also over all the globe, that the best legislation they could receive hath been given to man, not the best which could have been given to them; that in considering only morality, mankind would perhaps be less distant from happiness had they remained in the simple and innocent state of some savages; for nothing is so difficult as to eradicate inveterate and sanctified prejudice. For the architect who draws the plan of a great edifice, an even area is better than one covered with bad materials, heaped upon one another without method and without plan, and unfortunately connected together by the most durable cements of time, of custom, and of the authority of sovereigns and of priests. Then the wise man advances in his work only with timidity; he is exposed to greater risks, and loses more time in demolishing than in constructing.

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SINCE the invasion of the barbarians in this part of the world, almost all governments have had no other foundation than the interest of one single man, or of a single corporate body, to the prejudice of society in general. Founded upon conquest, the effect of superior strength, they have only varied in the mode of keeping the people in subjection. At first war made victims of them, devoted either to the sword of their enemies or to that of their masters. How many ages have passed away in scenes of blood and in the carnage of nations, that is to say, in the distribution of empires before the terms of peace had deified that state of intestine war, which is called society or government?

WHEN the feudal government had for ever excluded those who tilled the ground from the right of possessing it: when, by a sacrilegious collusion between the altar and the throne, the authority of God had been enforced by that of the sword; what effect had the morality of the gospel, but to authorize tyranny by the doctrine of passive obedience, but to confirm slavery by a contempt of the sciences; in a word, to add to the terror of the great, that of evil spirits? And what were morals with such laws? What they are at present in Poland, where the people, being without lands and without arms, are left to be massacred by the Russians, or enlisted by the Prussians, and having neither courage nor sentiment, think it is sufficient if they are christians, and remain neutral between their neighbours and their lords palatine.

To a similar state of anarchy wherein morals had no distinguishing character, nor any degree of stability, succeeded the epidemic fury of the holy wars, by which nations were corrupted and degraded, by communicating to each other the contagion of vices with that of fanaticism. Morals were changed with the change of climate. All the passions were inflamed and heightened between the tombs of Jesus, and Mohammed. From Palestine was imported a principle of luxury and ostentation, an inordinate taste for the spices of the east, a romantic spirit which civilized the nobility, without rendering the people more happy, consequently more virtuous: for if there be no happiness without virtue, virtue on the other hand, will never support itself without a fund of happiness.

ABOUT two centuries after Europe had been depopulated by Asiatic expeditions, it's transmigration in America happened. This revolution introduced an universal confusion, and blended the vices and productions of every climate with our own. Neither was any improvement made in the science of morality, because men were then destroyed through avarice, instead of being massacred on account of religion. Those nations which had made the largest acquisitions in the New World, seemed to acquire at the same time all the stupidity, ferociousness, and ignorance of the Old. They became the channel through which the vices and diseases of their country were communicated. They were poor and dirty in the midst of their wealth, debauched though surrounded

rounded with temples and with priests; they were idle and superstitious with all the sources of commerce, and the facility of acquiring information. But the love of riches likewise corrupted all other nations.

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WHETHER it be war or commerce which introduces great riches into a state, they soon become the object of public ambition. At first men of the greatest power seize upon them: and as riches come into the hands of those who have the management of public affairs, wealth is confounded with honour in the minds of the people; and the virtuous citizen, who aspired to employments only for the sake of glory, aspires, without knowing it, to honour for the sake of advantage. Neither lands nor treasure, any more than conquests, are obtained with any other view but to enjoy them; and riches are enjoyed only for pleasure and the ostentation of luxury. Under these different ideas, they equally corrupt the citizen who possesses them, and the people who are seduced by their attraction. As soon as men labour only from a motive of gain, and not from a regard to their duty, the most advantageous situations are preferred to the most honourable. It is then we see the honour of a profession diverted, obscured, and lost in the paths that lead to wealth.

To the advantage of that false consideration at which riches arrive, are to be added the natural conveniences of opulence, a fresh source of corruption. The man who is in a public situation is desirous of having people about him; the honours he receives in public are not sufficient for him;

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he wants admirers, either of his talents, his luxury, or his profusion. If riches be the means of corruption, by leading to honours, how much more will they be so, by diffusing a taste for pleasure ! Misery offers it's chastity to sale, and idleness it's liberty ; the prince sets the magistracy up to auction, and the magistrates set a price upon justice : the court sells employments, and placemen sell the people to the prince, who sells them again to the neighbouring powers, either in treaties of war, or subsidy ; of peace, or exchange of territory. But in this sordid traffic, introduced by the love of wealth, the most evident alteration is that which it makes in the morals of women.

THERE is no vice which owes it's origin to so many other vices, and which produces a greater number of them, than the incontinence of a sex, whose true attendant, and most beautiful ornament, is bashfulness and modesty.

I do not understand by incontinence, the promiscuous use of women ; the wise Cato advised it in his republic ; nor do I mean a plurality of them, which is the result of the ardent and voluptuous countries of the east ; neither do I mean the liberty, whether indefinite or limited, which custom, in different countries, grants to the sex, of yielding to the desires of several men. This, among some people, is one of the duties of hospitality, among others, a means of improving the human race, and in other places an offering made to the gods, an act of piety consecrated by religion. I call incontinence, all intercourse between

tween the two sexes forbidden by the laws of the state.

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WHY should this misdemeanour, so pardonable in itself, this action of so little consequence in it's nature, so much confined in the gratification, have so pernicious an influence upon the morals of women? This is, I believe, a consequence of the importance we have attached to it. What will be the restraint of a woman, dishonoured in her own eyes, and in those of her fellow-citizens? What support will other virtues find in her soul, when nothing can aggravate her shame? The contempt of public opinion, one of the greatest efforts of wisdom, is seldom separated, in a feeble and timid mind, from the contempt of one's self. This degree of heroism cannot exist with a consciousness of vice. The woman who no longer respects herself, soon becomes insensible to censure and to praise; and without standing in awe of these two respectable phantoms, I know not what will be the rule of her conduct. There remains nothing but the rage of voluptuousness, that can indemnify her for the sacrifice she has made. This she feels, and this she persuades herself of; and thus, free from the constraint of the public consideration, she gives herself up to it without reserve.

WOMEN take their resolution with much more difficulty than men, but when once they have taken it, they are much more determined. A woman never blushes when once she has ceased to blush. What will she not trample upon, when she hath triumphed over virtue? What idea can
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she have of that dignity, that decency, and that delicacy of sentiment, which, in the days of her innocence, directed and dictated her conversation, constituted her behaviour, and directed her dress? These will be considered only as childishness, as pusillanimity, or as the little intrigue of a pretended innocent person, who has parents to satisfy, and a husband to deceive; but a change of times brings on a change of manners.

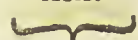
To whatever degree of perversity she may have attained, it will not lead her to great enormities. Her weakness deprives her of the boldness to commit atrocious acts; but her habitual hypocrisy, if she hath not entirely throw'n off the mask, will cast a tint of falsity upon her whole character. Those things which a man dares to attempt by force, she will attempt and obtain by artifice. A corrupt woman propagates corruption. She propagates it by bad example, by insidious counsels, and sometimes by ridicule. She hath begun by coquetry, which was addressed to all men; she hath continued by gallantry, so volatile in it's propensities, that it is more easy to find a woman who hath never had any passions, than to find one who hath only been once impassioned; and at last she reckons as many lovers as she hath acquaintances, whom she recalls, expels, and recalls again, according to the want she hath of them, and to the nature of intrigues of all kinds into which she hath plunged herself. This is what she means by having know'n how to enjoy her best years, and to avail herself of her charms. It was one of these women, who had entered

entered into the depths of the art, and who declared upon her death-bed, that she regretted only the pains she had taken to deceive the men; and that the most honest among them were the greatest dupes.

UNDER the influence of such manners, conjugal love is disdained, and that contempt weakens the sentiment of maternal tenderness, if it doth not even extinguish it. The most sacred, and the most pleasing duties become troublesome; and when they have been neglected, or broken, nature never renews them. The woman who suffers any man but her husband to approach her, hath no more regard for her family, and can be no more respected by them. The ties of blood are slackened; births become uncertain; and the son knows no more his father, nor the father his son.

I WILL therefore maintain it, that connections of gallantry complete the depravity of manners, and indicate it more strongly than public prostitution. Religion is extinct, when the priest leads a scandalous life; in the same manner virtue hath no asylum, when the sanctuary of marriage is profaned. Bashfulness is under the protection of the timid sex. Who is it that shall blush, when a woman doth not? It is not prostitution which multiplies acts of adultery; it is gallantry which extends prostitution. The ancient moralists, who pitied the unfortunate victims of libertinism, condemned without mercy the infidelity of married women; and not without reason. If we were to throw all the shame of vice upon the class of common women, other

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women would not fail soon to take honour to themselves from a limited intercourse, although it would be so much more criminal, as it was more voluntary, and more illicit. The honest and virtuous women will no more be distinguished from the women of strong passions; a frivolous distinction will be established between the woman of gallantry and the courtesan; between gratuitous vice, and vice reduced by misery to the necessity of requiring a stipend; and these subtleties will betray a system of depravation. O fortunate and rude times of our forefathers, when there were none but virtuous or bad women; when all who were not virtuous were corrupted; and where an established system of vice was not excused, by persevering in it.

BUT finally, what is the source of those delicate passions, formed by the mind, by sentiment, and by sympathy of character? The manner in which these passions always terminate, shews plainly, that those fine expressions are only employed to shorten the defence, and justify the defeat. Equally at the service of reserved and dissolute women, they are become almost ridiculous.

WHAT is the result of this national gallantry? A premature libertinism, which ruins the health of young men before they are arrived to maturity, and destroys the beauty of the women in the prime of their life; a race of men without information, without strength, and without courage; incapable of serving their country; magistrates destitute of dignity and of principles; a preference of
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wit to good sense; of pleasures to duty; of politeness to the feelings of humanity; of the art of pleasing, to talents, to virtue; men absorbed in self-consideration, substituted to men who are serviceable; offers without reality; innumerable acquaintances, and no friends; mistresses, and no wives; lovers, and no husbands; separations and divorces; children without education; fortunes in disorder; jealous mothers, and hysterical women; nervous disorders; peevish old age, and premature death.

It is with difficulty that women of gallantry escape the dangers of the critical period of life. The vexation at the neglect which threatens them, completes the depravation of the blood and of the humours, at a time when the calm which arises from consciousness of an honest life might be salutary. It is dreadful to seek in vain, in one's self, the consolations of virtue, when the calamities of nature surround us.

LET us, therefore, talk no more of morality among modern nations; and if we wish to discover the cause of this degradation, let us search for it in its true principle.

GOLD doth not become the idol of a people, and virtue does not fall into contempt, unless the bad constitution of the government leads on to such a corruption. Unfortunately, it will always have this effect, if the government be so constituted, that the temporary interest of a single person, or of a small number, can with impunity prevail over the common and invariable interest

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of the whole. It will always produce this corruption, if those in whose hands authority is lodged can make an arbitrary use of it; can place themselves above the reach of justice; can make their power administer to plundering, and their plunder to the continuance of abuses occasioned by their power. Good laws are maintained by good morals, but good morals are established by good laws. Men are what government makes them. To modify them, it is always armed with an irresistible force, that of public opinion; and the government will always make use of corruption, when by it's nature it is itself corrupt. In a word, the nations of Europe will have good morals when they have good governments. Let us conclude. But let us previously give a rapid sketch of the good and of the evil produced by the discovery of the East and West Indies.

Reflections
upon the
good and
the evil
which the
discovery of
the New
World hath
done to Eu-
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THIS great event hath improved the construction of ships, navigation, geography, astronomy, medicine, natural history, and some other branches of knowlege; and these advantages have not been attended with any know'n inconvenience.

IT hath procured to some empires vast domains, which have given splendour, power, and wealth, to the states which have founded them. But what expences have not been lavished, to clear, to govern, or to defend these distant possessions. When these colonies shall have acquired that degree of culture, knowlege, and population which is suitable for them, will they not detach themselves from a country which hath founded

founded it's splendour upon their prosperity? We know not at what period this revolution will happen; but it must certainly take place.

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EUROPE is indebted to the New World for a few conveniences, and a few luxuries. But before these enjoyments were obtained, were we less healthy, less robust, less intelligent, or less happy? Are these frivolous advantages, so cruelly obtained, so unequally distributed, and so obstinately disputed, worth one drop of that blood which hath been spilt, and which will still be spilt for them? Are they to be compared to the life of a single man? And yet, how many lives have hitherto been destroyed; how many are at present devoted; and how many will not hereafter be sacrificed, to supply chimerical wants, which we shall never be persuaded to get rid of, either by authority or reason.

THE voyages undertaken upon all the seas have weakened the principle of national pride; they have inspired civil and religious toleration; they have revived the ties of original fraternity; have inspired the true principles of an universal system of morality, founded upon the identity of wants, of calamities, of pleasures, and of the analogies common to mankind under every latitude; they have induced the practice of benevolence towards every individual who appeals to it, whatever his manners, his country, his laws, and his religion may be. But at the same time, the minds of men have been turned to lucrative speculation. The sentiment of glory hath been

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been weakened. Riches have been preferred to fame; and every thing which tended to the elevation of mankind hath visibly inclined to decay.

THE New World hath multiplied specie amongst us. An earnest desire of obtaining it hath occasioned much exertion upon the face of the globe; but exertion is not happiness. Whose destiny hath been meliorated by gold and silver? Do not the nations who dig them from the bowels of the earth, languish in ignorance, superstition, ignorance and pride, and all those vices which it is most difficult to eradicate, when they have taken deep root. Have they not lost their agriculture and their manufactures? Their existence, is it not precarious? If an industrious people, proprietors of a fertile soil, should one day represent to the other people, that they have too long carried on a losing trade with them; and that they will no longer give the thing for the representation; would not this sumptuary law be a sentence of death against that region, which hath none but riches of convention; unless the latter, driven by despair, should shut up it's mines; in order to open furrows in the ground?

THE other powers of Europe may perhaps have acquired no greater advantage from the treasures of America. If the repartition of them hath been equal, or proportionate between them; neither of them have decreased in opulence, or increased in strength. The analogies which existed in ancient times still exist. Let us suppose
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that some nations should have acquired a greater quantity of metals than the rival nations, they will either bury them, or throw them into circulation. In the first instance, this is nothing more than the barren property of a superfluous mass of gold. In the second, they will acquire only a temporary superiority, because in a short space of time all vendible commodities will bear a price proportionate to the abundance of the signs which represent them.

SUCH are then the evils attached even to the advantages which we owe to the discovery of the East and West Indies. But how many calamities, which cannot be compensated, have not attended the conquest of these regions?

HAVE the devastators of them lost nothing by depopulating them for a long species of ages? If all the blood that hath been spilt in those countries had been collected into one common reservoir, if the dead bodies had been heaped up in the same plain, would not the blood and the carcases of the Europeans have occupied a great space in it? Hath it been possible speedily to fill up the void which these emigrants had left in their native land, infected with a shameful and cruel poison from the New World, which attacks even the sources of reproduction?

SINCE the bold attempts of Columbus and of Gama, a spirit of fanaticism, till then unknow'n, hath been established in our countries, which is that of making discoveries. We have traversed, and still continue to traverse, all the climates

from one pole to another, in order to discover some continents to invade, some islands to ravage, and some people to spoil, to subdue, and to massacre. Would not the person who should put an end to this frenzy deserve to be reckoned among the benefactors of mankind?

THE sedentary life is the only favourable one to population. The man who travels leaves no posterity behind him. The land forces have created a multitude of persons devoted to celibacy. The naval forces have almost doubled them; with this difference, that the latter are destroyed by illnesses on board of ship, by shipwrecks, by fatigue, by bad food, and by the change of climate. A soldier may return to some of the professions useful to society. A sailor is a sailor for ever. When he is discharged from the service, he is of no further use to his country, whic his under the necessity of providing an hospital for him.

LONG voyages have introduced a new species of anomalous savages. I mean those men, who traverse so many countries, and who in the end belong to none; who take wives wherever they find them, and that only from motives of animal necessity; those amphibious creatures, who live upon the surface of the waters; who come on shore only for a moment; to whom every habitable latitude is equal; who have, in reality, neither fathers, mothers, children, brothers, relations, friends, nor fellow-citizens, in whom the most pleasing and
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the most sacred ties are extinct; who quit their country without regret; who never return to it without being impatient of going out again; and to whom the habit of living upon a dreadful element gives a character of ferociousness. Their probity is not proof against the crossing of the line; and they acquire riches in exchange for their virtue and their health.

THIS insatiable thirst of gold, hath given birth to the most infamous and the most atrocious of all traffics, that of slaves. Crimes against nature are spoken of, and yet this is not instanced as the most execrable of them. Most of the European nations have been stained with it, and a base motive of interest hath extinguished in their hearts all the sentiments due to our fellow-creatures. But, without these assistances, these countries, the acquisition of which hath cost so dear, would still be uncultivated. Let them then remain fallow; if, in order to cultivate them, it be necessary that man should be reduced to the condition of the brute, in the person of the buyer, of the seller, and of him who is sold.

SHALL we not take into our account, the complication which the settlements in the East and West Indies have introduced in the machine of government? Before that period, the persons proper to hold the reins of government were infinitely scarce. An administration more embarrassed, hath required a more extensive genius, and greater depth of knowledge. The cares of sovereignty, divided between the citizens placed at the foot of the throne, and the subjects settled under the

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equator, or near the pole, have been insufficient for both the one and the other. Every thing hath fallen into confusion. The several states have languished under the yoke of oppression, and endless wars, or such as were incessantly renewed, have harassed the globe, and stained it with blood.

LET us stop here, and consider ourselves as existing at the time when America and India were unknow'n. Let me suppose that I address myself to the most cruel of the Europeans in the following terms. There exist regions which will furnish thee with rich metals, agreeable clothing, and delicious food. But read this history, and behold at what price the discovery is promised to thee. Dost thou wish or not that it should be made? Is it to be imagined that there exists a being infernal enough to answer this question in the affirmative! Let it be remembered, that there will not be a single instant in futurity, when my question will not have the same force.

NATIONS, I have discoursed to you on your dearest interests. I have placed before your eyes the benefits of nature, and the fruits of industry. As ye are too frequently the occasion of your mutual unhappiness, you must have felt how the jealousy of avarice, how pride and ambition remove far from your common weal, the happiness that presents itself to you by peace and commerce. I have recalled that happiness which has been removed from you. The sentiments of my heart have been warmly expressed in favour of all mankind,

kind, without distinction of sect or country. Men are all equal in my sight, by the reciprocal relation of the same wants and the same calamities: as they are all equal in the eyes of the Supreme Being through the connection between their weakness and his power. I have not been ignorant that, subject, as ye were, to masters, your destiny must principally depend upon them; and that while I was speaking to you of your calamities, I was censuring them for their errors, or their crimes. This reflection hath not depressed my courage. I have never conceived, that the sacred respect due to humanity, could possibly be irreconcilable with that which is due to those who should be it's natural protectors. I have been transported in idea into the councils of the ruling powers. I have spoken without disguise, and without fear, and have no reason to accuse myself of having betrayed the great cause I have ventured to plead. I have informed princes of their duties, and of the rights of the people. I have traced to them the fatal effects of that inhuman power which is guilty of oppression; and of that whose indolence and weakness suffers it. I have sketched all around them portraits of your misfortunes, and they cannot but have been sensibly affected by them. I have warned them, that if they turned their eyes away, those true but dreadful pictures would be engraven on the marble of their tombs, and accuse their ashes, while posterity trampled on them.

BUT talents are not always equal to our zeal. Undoubtedly I have stood in need of a greater

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share of that penetration which discovers expedients, and of that eloquence which enforces truth. Sometimes, perhaps, the sentiments of my heart have contributed to raise my genius; but most frequently I have perceived myself overwhelmed with my subject, and conscious of my own inability.

MAY writers, on whom nature has bestowed greater abilities, complete by their masterpieces what my essays have begun! Under the auspices of philosophy, may there be one day extended, from one extremity of the world to the other, that chain of union and benevolence which ought to connect all civilized people! May they never more carry among savage nations the example of vice and oppression! I do not flatter myself that, at the period of that happy revolution, my name will be still in remembrance. This feeble work, which will have only the merit of having brought forth others better than itself, will doubtless be forgotten. But I shall, at least, be able to say, that I have contributed as much as was in my power to the happiness of my fellow-creatures, and pointed out the way, though perhaps at a distance, to improve their destiny. This agreeable thought will stand me in the stead of glory. It will be the delight of my old age, and the consolation of my latest moments.

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